

PRINCIPLES  
FOR YONG  
PRINCES.

COLLECTED OVT OF  
SVNDRY AVTHOVRS, BY  
GEORGE MORE, Esquire.

PROV. 19.

*Hearc counsell, and receive instruction, that thou mayst be wise in  
the latter end.*



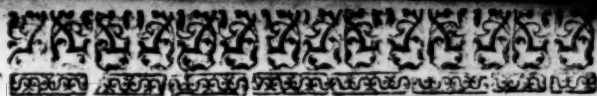
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To the Reader.

**H**onourable and courteous Reader, though  
I had no intention to publish this coll-  
ection, yet now upon some considera-  
tion, and for that also I hold it as fit for  
young Noblemen and Gentlemen to read,  
as for young Princes to understand, for that they may  
reap some profit thereby, I thought it not inconvenient to  
commit the same to the Presse, commending it to your  
good acceptance, and favourable Censure, my meaning to  
you being of more value then my labour. And so I rest,  
denoted to doe you better service.

GEORGE MORE.

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# PRINCIPLES for yong PRINCES.

## CHAP. I.

### *The Regall and Politicke Government:*



**A**S in naturall things the Head being cut off, the rest cannot be called a Body: no more can in Politicke things a Multitude or Communalty without a head be Incorporate. Whereupon the Philosopher, & *Politicorum* saith, That whensoever of many is made one, one amongst them must gouerne, and the rest be gouerned. Therefore a people desiring to liue in society together, and willing to erect either a Kingdome, or other Politicke Body, must of necessity chuse one to gouerne that Body. Who in a Kingdome of *Regendo*, is called *Rex*. And so by the people is established a Kingdome, which gouernment is absolutely the best. And as the Head of the Physicall Body cannot change the veines and sinewes thereof, nor deny the Members of their proper strength and necessary nurriture: no more can a King ( who is head of the Politicke Body. ) alter or change the lawes of that body, or take from the people their goods or substance against their wils. For a King is chosen to maintaine the Lawes of his Subiects, and to defend their bodies and goods. So *Brute* arriuing in this Iland with his *Troians*, erected here a Regall and Politicke government.



gouernment, which hath for the most part continued euer since, for though we haue had many changes, as first the *Romans* subduing the *Brittaines*, then the *Brittaines* entring againe: then the *Saxons*, then the *Danes*, then the *Saxons* againe, and lastly the *Normans*: yet in the time of all these Nations, and during their raignes, the Kingdome was for the most part gouerned in the same manner that it is now. *Plutark* saith, that at first all that gouerned were called Tyrants, but afterward the good Gouvernours called Kings, and the euill Gouvernours Tyrants: for in the beginning, some men couetous of honour and glory, did by their strength force the people to obey them, and to subiect themselues to their lawes at their pleasure, and so established onely a Regall gouernment, which done by force, and gouerned against all right and reason by rigour, was accounted tyrannicall. For though a man by force doe subdue Cities and Countries, yet he ought to rule according to reason: and if he know God according to the Law of God. But when he is chosen, or admitted King by the people, and hath his power from them, he may not subiect the people to any other power, yet he hath a great and large prerogatiue, which he may vse at his pleasure.

And here I thought not amisse to set downe some few Lawes and Customes of other Common-wealths, wherby their good gouernment and life may appeare, they not being Christians.

*Ptolomens*, King of *Egypt*, feasting one day, seuen Ambassadors, at his request, euery one of them shewed vnto him three of their principall Lawes and Customes. And first the Ambassador of *Rome* said, wee haue the Temples in great reuerence, we are very obedient to our Gouvernours: and we doe punish wicked men, and euill Liuers, severely. The *Carthagenian* Ambassador said, in the Common-wealth of *Carthage*, the Nobility neuer cease fighting, nor the Common People and Artificers labouring, nor the Philosophers teaching.



teaching. The *Cicilian* said, In our Common-wealth, Justice is exactly kept: Merchandize exercised with truth, and all men account themselves equall. The *Rhodians* said: at *Rhodes* old men are honest: yong men shamefast: and women solitary, and of few words. The *Athenians* said, In our Common-wealth, rich men are not suffered to be devided in Factions: nor poore men to be idle, nor the Gouverneurs to be ignorant. The *Lacedamonians* said, In *Sparta* enuy reigneth not, for all men are equall, nor couetousnesse, for all goods are common: nor sloth, for all doe labour. In our Common-wealth, said the Ambassadour of the *Sicyonians*, voyages are not permitted, because they should nor bring home new Factions: Physitians are not suffered, lest they should kill the sound: nor Lawyers, to take vpon them the defence of Causes and Sutes. And to these may be added, *Anatharsis* Letter to *Cressus*, King of *Lydia*, concerning the *Gretians*. Know (saith he) that in the studies of *Greece*, we learne not to Command, but to obey: not to speake much, much, but to keepe silence: not to be contentious, but to be humble, not to get much, but to content our selues with a little: not to reuenge our harmes, but to pardon iniuries: not to take from others, but to giue our owne: not to take care to be honoured, but to labour to be vertuous: Lastly, we learne to despise that which others loue, and to loue that which others despise, which is pouerty.

#### CHAP. 2.

*Who fittest to gouerne.*

**N**OW to shew what manner of man is fittest to gouerne, I read in *Linus*, that men borne in Armes, great in deeds, and rude in eloquence, ought to be chosen Consuls: and that men of quicke spirits, sharpe wits, learned in the Law, and eloquent, should be for the City. For a Prince (so the Consull was for his

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time)



time) ought to be a Martiall man, stout and courageous as well to defend his subiects, as to offend his enemies; great and worthy in his actions, as well to be feared of his foes, as to be beloued of his friends: and not to be curious, to speake eloquently, but to deliuer his mind plainely and wisely: it being more necessary for a Prince to doe well, then to speake well. For wise words are not commendable, if the deeds be not answerable, whereupon the Philosopher *Pacinius* saith, those are to be hated, who in their acts are fooles, and in their words Philosophers. They that will therefore (saith *Plato*) haue glory in this life, and attaine to glory after death, and be beloued of many, and feared of all, let them be vertuous in doing good works, and deceiue no man with vaine words. And he counselleth the *Athenians* to chuse a Gouvernour that is iust in his sentence, true of his word, constant in his act, secret and liberall. These be the principall morall vertues most necessary in a Prince.

## CHAP. 3.

*A Prince to be iust in his sentence.*

**F**Or a Prince ought to be iust in his sentence, according to the words of *Salomon*, *Sap. 1.* saying, *Love Justice you that Iudge the Earth, For a iust King (saith he) Pro. 29. doth aduance his Countrey: and the King that indgeth the poore rightly, his throne shall be establisht for euer.* Therefore he ought not to be led, either by fauour, passion, or gaine: but according to equity and iustice: and to haue care that all his Counsellors and Magistrates doe the like. And to attaine to this vertue of Iustice, a Prince must call to God for wisdom, which he cannot obtaine, being of euill life. For wisdom will not enter into a soule possessed with malice, nor dwell in a body subiect to sinne, (saith *Salomon*) *Sap. 1.* But if thou (saith he) call for wisdom, and encline thine heart to Prudence: then shalt thou vnderstand Iustice, and



and indgement, and equity, and euery right way. Prou. 2.  
Therefore he prayeth, saying: *Giue mee (O Lord) that*  
*wisedome which asisteth thy seate, and cast me not off from*  
*the number of thy seruants, for that I am thy bond-slauē, and*  
*the sonne of thy bond-woman, a weake man, and of short life,*  
*unable to vnderstand aright, what is Iustice and Law: and*  
*whosoever is the most perfect and excellent amongst the*  
*sonnes of men, he is to be accounted as no body, if thy wise-*  
*dome doth not assist him.* Sap. 9. All good and worthy  
Princes haue laboured to attaine to this wisdomē, and  
to execute iustice most exactly, insomuch that some  
haue not spared their owne children: so sacred a thing  
they held Iustice to be. As for example, *Brutus*, who  
vnderstanding that his two sonnes were of the conspi-  
racy for *Tarquinus Superbus*, caused them both to be  
put to death in his owne presence. *Cassius* likewise  
seeking to get the loue of the people, and to make  
himselfe King, was beaten to death by his father. *Pau-*  
*sanias*, Generall of the *Lacedamonians*, receiued 500 ta-  
lents of gold to betray *Sparta*, but *Agessilas* his father  
vnderstanding thereof, pursued him into the Temple of  
*Minerua* (whither he fled for Sanctuary) and caused  
the doores of the Temple to be nayled vp, and so there  
made him dye of famine, then his mother tooke his  
corpes, and threw it to the dogs, not suffering it to be  
interred. *Darius* likewise, King of *Persia*, vnderstan-  
ding that his sonne *Ariobrazanes* ment to betray him  
to *Alexander Magnus*, cut off his head. *Titus Manli-*  
*us*, being challenged by one of the *Latins*, to fight the  
Combate, stepped forth of his ranke, and in Combate  
killed him, yet because it was done without license, his  
owne father, being then Consull and Generall, present-  
ly put him to death. *Posthumus* likewise, did the same  
to his sonne. *Federicke*, Earle of *Harlebecque*, and For-  
rester of *Flanders*, hauing made very strait Lawes, for  
the reducing of his Countrey to Iustice and good life,  
put his sonne to death for breaking the Law, in taking



a basket of Apples from a poore woman, and not paying for them. *Edward* the first, put his sonne in prison, *Prince Edward*, for breaking the Parkes of the Bishop of *Chester*. *Henry* the fourth, also commended the Lord chiefe Iustice of *England*, for committing the Prince to prison, for transgressing the Law. And King *Antiochus* had that care to haue Iustice ministred, as he writ to all the Cities of his Kingdome, that they should not execute any thing he commanded if it were contrary to Law: but they should first aduertise him thereof. The Emperour *Iustinian* likewise commanded the Lawyers to be sworne that they should not plead in an euill and vniust cause. The like Law was made in the ninth Parliament of *James* the first, King of *Scotland*, that all Counsellours and Aduocates, before they plead any temporall cause, should take oath and swear that they thinke the cause to be good they plead. *Lewis* the ninth, King of *France*, was a iust and vertuous Prince, louing the good, and punishing the wicked, and was a Capitall enemy to sutes, commanding the Iudges to doe speedy Iustice, so that sutes then were laid away. *Alexander Magnus* was so farre from being transported from Iustice, as when any made complaint to him of another, he stopped alwayes one eare, saying, he must keepe that for the party accused. The Emperour *Adrian* was of that integrity in Iustice, as one *Alexander* accused another before him, called *Aper*, and bringing his proofes onely in writing, he said that his informations were but Paper and Inke, and perhaps forged, and that a man ought not to be condemned, but by honest and substantiall witnesses, and therefore he sent *Aper* to *Rufus* Gouvernour of *Macedonia* (from whence he was brought) commanding him, diligently to examine the witnesses against him, and to see that they were honest, and of good name. King *Edgar* of *England* had likewise that care to doe Iustice, as in Winter time he would ride vp and downe the



the Countrey, and make enquiry of the misdemeanors of his Officers and Gouvernours, and punish them severely that offended the Law. And as the followers of Justice shall not onely be famous in this world, but shall perpetually liue, and receiue a kingdome of glory in the world to come, as saith Salomon, *Sap. 5.* So the Princes that minister iniustice, and do not iudge rightly, shall reape infamy, and incurre the high displeasure of Almighty God, as Salomon also witnesseth, saying: *Hearken ( O Kings ) and understand : learne you who are Iudges of the bounds of the earth, in respect that power is giuen vnto you from above, and strength from the Highest, who will examine your works, and search your thoughts, and because when you were Ministers in his Kingdome, you did not iudge rightly, nor iudge rightly, nor keepe the Law of Justice, nor walke in the way of God, he will appeare vnto you quickly, and horribly: for most rigorous iudgement is done vnto those that gouerne. With the poore and meane man mercy is vsed : but mighty men shall suffer torments mightily, Sap. 6.* And the royall Prophet saith, that God is terrible to the Kings of the earth, *Psal. 75.* Which doth very well appeare by the strange punishments he oftentimes inflicted vpon them, as vpon *Pharaoh*, who was drowned in the red Sea, pursuing *Moses*, and the seruants of God: vpon *Nabuchadnezzar*, who was cast downe from his Throne, and made companion to beasts: vpon *Ozias*, who was stricken by God with a filthy leprosie: vpon *Ioram* by an incurable fluxe: vpon *Antiochus* the Tyrant, who rotted aliuie: vpon *Herod*, who for killing *Saint James*, and persecuting the rest of the Apostles was stricken by an Angell, and consumed with wormes whilest he liued: vpon *Mimpric*, King of Great Britaine, who was deuoured with Wolves: vpon *Anastasi* the Emperor, who was killed with thunder: vpon *Seldred* a Saxon, King of England, who was killed by the Diuel, as he was banquetting with his Nobility: vpon *Drahomira* Dut-



ches of *Bohemia*, who for procuring the death of *Ludmilla* her mother in law, a very vertuous woman, and of many Priests also, was, as she passed in her Coach, ouer the place where the Priests were murdered, swallowed vp by the earth: vpon the wicked King of *Nauarre*, Anno 1387. who fell into such an infirmitie, that all his limbes were cold: for remedy whereof hee was fowed in a cloath wet in *aqua vita*: and when the man had done, for lacke of a knife to cut the thred in his needle, he burned it with the Candle he vsed, and so by chance set the cloath on fire, which could not bee quenched, but that the King lying three dayes in extreme torment, dyed thereof. And many moe for their iniustice and wickednesse, haue bene punished very strangely, and oftentimes lost their Kingdomes: for a kingdome, as appeareth; *Eccle. chap. 11.* is transferred from Nations to Nations, for iniustice and iniuries. Therefore it behouoeth a Prince to haue most speciall care hereunto.

## CHAP. 4.

*A Prince to be true of his word.*

**I**T is requisite that a Prince should be true of his word, and faithfull of his promise, both rowards God and man, for it is said, *Deut. 23.* When thou hast made a promise or vow to thy Lord God, be not slacke to yeeld it, for he doth require it at thy hands. And *Salomon* saith, *Prou. 8.* I detest a double tongue. And againe, *Pro. 17.* he saith, that a lying lippe doth not become a Prince. *Cicero* likewise *De officijs*, saith, that *fides*, which wee call *fidellty*, (consisting in the verity and constant performance of words, promises, and couenants) is the foundation of Iustice, which preserveth a Commonwealth. One of the lawes of the Knights of the Band in *Spaine* was, that if any of them broke his promise, or falsified his word, he went alone by himselfe, & no body spoke to him, nor he to any. And the *Romans* had great care alwayes to performe their word; insomuch, that  
the



the first Temple builded in *Rome*, was dedicated to the  
goddesse *Fidelity*. And vpon a time, they wanting  
money to pay their Souldiers, and to maintaine their  
Armies, thought it better to spend the goods of the  
Common-wealth, then not to pay the Souldiers their  
wages: saying, if the Common-wealth be not vpheld  
by faith and keeping of promise, it will not be vpheld  
by riches. And at another time, because they could  
not ayde the *Saguntines*, according to promise in due  
time (they being besieged, and for want of ayde, spoy-  
led by *Hanibal*) did not onely build vp their City a-  
gaine, but after this made warre in *Spaine* for reuenge,  
by the space of 14 yeares. In which time they subdu-  
ed the *Turditanes*, (who brought *Hanibal* into *Spaine*)  
and made them pay tribute to the *Saguntines*, and cha-  
sed out of all *Spaine*, the *Carthagenians*, and restored all  
the *Saguntines* that were either imprisoned or fled.  
*Scipio* making warre in *Affrica* against the *Carthage-  
nians*, granted them Truce for a time, that they might  
send Ambassadors to *Rome*, to treat of Peace, but be-  
fore the Ambassadors returned from *Rome*, *Asdrubal*  
spoyled 230 shippes of the *Romans*, whereupon *Scipio*  
sent to *Carthage*, to aduertise them of the breach of the  
Truce: but his Ambassadors could not be heard, but  
were threatned by the people. Soone after, the Am-  
bassadors of *Carthage*, returning home from *Rome*,  
came through the Campe of *Scipio*, who sent for them,  
and told them, that though *Carthage* had broken the  
Truce and law of Armes, yet would not he breake the  
custome of the *Romans*, which was to obserue the pub-  
like faith, and so let them passe. *Iulius Caesar* likewise  
kept faith and promise alwayes with his enemies,  
though they broke with him. The Emperour *Nerva*,  
(succeeding *Domitian* in the Empire, who had put to  
death diuers of the Senators) did promise that hee  
would put to death any Senator: which greatly plea-  
sed all the Senate. Soone after some of the Senators  
conspired against him: which discovered, he would



not put them to death, because of his promise.

The Emperour *Augustus*, hauing made Proclamation to giue 25000 crownes to him that should take *Crocotus*, Captaine of the Thoeues in *Spain*, called *Bandeleros*: *Crocotus* offered himselfe to the Emperour, and demaunded the money promised by him. The Emperour, for performance of his word, did not onely giue him the money, but his pardon also. *Sextus Pompeyus*, hauing warres with *Antonius* the Triumuir, and meeting him vpon a treaty of Peace, and thereupon inuiting of him to supper (giuing him his faith for his assurance and safety) was moued by some to detain him prisoner: but he answered, that to be the Emperour of the world, he would not falsifie his faith. *Lisurgus*, brother to *Poledestes*, King of *Lacedaemonia*, hauing promised fidelity to the King, refused the offer of the Queene, who being left great with child, offered to destroy it, and to make him King, if he would marry her. But he, like a faithfull brother, proclaimed her sonne King, so soone as he was borne, gouerning onely during his minority, chosen thereunto by the people. *Ferdinando*, brother to *Henry* the third, King of *Castile*, being left Tutor to the Kings sonne, was vrged by the three Estates of *Castile*, to take the Crowne himselfe, but he refused it, saying: He would neuer be false, either to his brother dead, or his brother liuing, to whom hee had promised fidelity. And as these and many moe, are famous for their fidelity and performance of their word: so a number are infamous by their perfidiousnesse and breach of their word. For *Plutarch* saith, that *Alexander Magnus*, causing certaine *Indian* Souldiers to be killed (after they had yeelded themselves to him vpon his word) spotted and stained the renowne of all his glorious Conquests, and royall vertues. *Hannibal* neuer kept his word nor faith with any, but to serue his owne turne. Therefore *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, (to whom he fled, vanquished by *Scipio*)



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*Scipio* made no account of him. And he going from thence to *Prusias*, King of *Bithynia*, one as perfidious as himselfe, for that he meant to haue deliuered him to *Quintius*, Generall of the *Romans*, whereof *Hannibal* vnderstanding, poysoned himselfe. *Siphax*, King of *Numidia*, by breaking his word with *Scipio*, lost his Kingdome and lite in captiuiety. *Ptolomeus*, King of *Egypt*, hauing promised safety to *Pompey* (who fled vnto him, ouerthrowne by *Cesar*) notwithstanding put him to death, and sent his head to *Cesar*, which he refused to see, and wept for sorrow, and commanded them that brought it to be put to death. Shortly after, *Cesar* assisted *Cleopatra*, killed *Ptolomeus* her brother, and made her Queene of *Egypt*. *Alfonso*, sonne to *Ferdinando*, King of *Naples*, vnder the promise and safeguard of his father, got to come to him, foure and twenty Princes and Barons, who notwithstanding his promise, put them in prison, and vpon the death of his father (being foure and twenty yeares after) put them all to death. *Charles* the seventh, King of *France*, when he was Dolphin, made *John Duke of Burgundy* beleue that he would make a peace with him: whereupon they met at a place appointed, where *Charles* caused the Duke to be presently killed. But *Charles*, after this, wearied with the warres, *Phillip*, sonne to the Duke, made against him: and of the subiection *England* brought *France* into, by this opportunity, did reconcile himselfe to *Phillip*, and asked him forgiuence openly by his Ambassadors. *Charles* the last, Duke of *Burgundy*, hauing giuen safe conduct to the Earle of *Saint Paul*, Constable of *France*, tooke him prisoner, and deliuered him to the *French King*, who put him to death. But *Sultan Soliman*, the great *Turke*, did worthily punish his *Bascha*, for falsifying his word, who sent into *Valona*, to passe into *Italy*, landed at the Hauens of *Cassero*, where the Inhabitants being astonished, yeelded vnto him vpon his word and fidelity, that they should depart



depart with bag and baggage: neuerthelesse, he slew them all, except those that were fit to serue for slaues. But he returning to *Constantinople*, *Sultan* caused him to be strangled for his disloyalty and perfidiousnesse, and sent backe all the prisoners with their goods into *Italy*. Thus you may see how honourable it is for one to keep their word, and what they deserue that falsifie their faith: for a faithlesse Prince is beloued of none, but hated of all, suspected of his friends, not trusted of his enemies, and forsaken of all men in his greatest necessity.

#### CHAP. 5.

##### *A Prince to be constant in his A&.*

**I**T is likewise very fitting that a Prince should be constant in his A&. First, to aduise well before hee resolve, but after, resolution to be constant, and not changeable: For Saint *Ambrose*, writing to *Simplician*, saith: that a foole is mooueable as the wind: but a wise man is not astonished by feare, nor changed by force, nor sunke by sorrow, nor proud by prosperitie. The Romans besieged *Casselin*, *Fabius* would haue giuen ouer the siege, but *Marcellus* perswaded him to the cōtrary, saying: that as there are many things a good Captaine ought not to attempt, so ought he not to desist or giue ouer an enterprise once begun and taken in hand. *Bertrand de Guesclin*, a Frenchman, seruing *Henry*, against *Peter*, King of *Spaine*, was by the Prince of *Wales* taken prisoner, and *Peter* by this victory, restored to his Kingdome. The Prince offered to giue *Bertrand* his liberty without ransome, so he would serue *Henry* no more, which he refused, because *Peter* had murthered the Queene his wife, *Blanche de Burbon*, and married a *Sarizen* kings daughter, the better to strengthen himselfe and had renounced the Catholicke faith. Then the Prince asked him whither he would goe if he were at liberty: he said, where he would soone reconer his losse,



losse, and desired the Prince to aske him no further. Well, said the Prince, consider what ransom you will giue me, for I referre it to your selfe. With thanks he said, he would giue him 100000 doubles of gold. The Prince thought he mocked him offering him so much, and said he would take the fourth part. I thanke you said *Bertrand*, and you shall haue 60000 doubles willingly. Of which the Prince accepted. Then said *Bertrand*, very constantly and confidently, *Henry* may now say and brag, that he shall die King of *Spaine*, for I will Crowne him, whatsoever it cost me. The Prince was astonished at his so haughty speeches, yet vsed him very honourably, and gaue him his liberty, whereupon hee paid his ransom, by the helpe of the King of *France*, and of *Henry* of *Spaine*. And after fise battels, tooke *Peter* prisoner, put him to death, and made *Henry* King. The *Priuernates* warring against the *Romans*, and not able to resist their forces, sent their Ambassadors to *Rome*, to demand peace: but because they had not obserued the Treaties of Peace before time, some thought it not fit to yeeld to their demand, and to conclude a Peace with those that would not keepe it. Whereupon the Ambassadors were asked, what punishment they had (in their iudgement) deserued for breaking the Peace before. To which one of the Ambassadors answered, that the *Priuernates* had deserued the punishment which those deserue, that thinke themselves worthy of freedome and liberty, and hate slavery and bondage.

Some thought this answer too proud and peremptory for men ouercome: neuerthelesse they were asked againe, if that they being pardoned for their former breach of peace, would fro thenceforth keepe the Peace granted them: to which the Ambassadors answered againe very constantly, that if they gaue them a good peace, they would faithfully and perpetually keepe it: but if they gaue them an euill peace, it should not long



continue. Vpon this answer, diuers of the Senate were moued, but the greatest part did not condemne them for this constant and resolute answer, considering that the Ambassadour spake as a free man, and that euery one in bondage will seeke for liberty, therefore it was concluded that the Priuernates should haue such a peace, as they should be admitted and receiued for Citizens of Rome, and enioy the same liberty and priuiledge as the City of Rome did.

*Agages*, King of the *Cretians*, about to giue battell to the *Licaonians*, his Captaines told him that his enemies were too great in number, but he not feared therewith, nor any thing changed, said, that he that would raigne ouer many, must fight with many. *Leonidas* likewise, sonne to *Anaxandridas*, when his men told him fighting in battell, that the Arrowes of his enemies were so many as they couered the Sunne, was not dismayed thereby but constantly continuing his fight, said, then shall we fight vnder their shadow. And the great Prince *Bias*, falling by chance in the danger of his enemies, the *Athenians*, and being asked of his Captaines, what they should do, he seeing their feare and inconstancy, was not moued, but answered, that they should report to the liuing, that he dyed fighting, and hee would report to the dead, that they went away flying. *Scipio*, though hee got the victory against *Antiochus*: yet was he not changed, but gaue him the same condition of peace he had offered him before the victory. *Spurius Sernilius*, Consull, being accused before the people for the same matter, for which they had condemned *Menenius*, his fellow Consull, (who through griefe thereupon dyed) was of that constancy and courage, as he freed himselfe, and condemned the people for their proceeding against *Menenius*. *Perfes*, King of *Macedonia*, who ouerthroned by *Paulus Emilius*, the Roman Captaine, was brought before him prisoner. *Emilius* did rise out of his seat, to receiue and honour him.



him as a great Prince false into that misery by the hazard of Fortune. But *Perfes*, not constant in magnanimity, cast himselfe at his feet vpon the ground, vsing such base and abiect requests, vnseeming for a King, as *Emilius* said to him. Alas poore man thou dischargest fortune, and chargest thy selfe, vnworthy of that honour thou hast had before, being so base minded, which hath made thee an vnworthy aduersary of the *Romans*. But *Cressus*, King of the *Lydians*, being to be put to death by *Cyrus*, shewed such constancy and resolution, (remembering *Solon*) as *Cyrus* forgave him: restored him, and made him one of his chiefest Counsellours. And *Pelopidas*, prisoner in the hands of *Alexander*, King of the *Phocians*, sent him word that he marvelled why he put his Citizens to death, and not him.

The Tyrant wondring at his great constancy, asked why he made such haste to dye. To the end (said he) that thou being yet more hated of God and man, then thou art, may the sooner be destroyed. *Leana*, priuy to the conspiracy of *Hermodius* and *Aristogiton*, with others, against the Tyrant of *Athens*, would neuer confesse, nor accuse any, but bit off her tongue, and spit in the Tyrants face. In memory of which constancy, and secrecy, they erected a Lyonesse of brasie without a tongue, at the entry of the Castle. *Zeno* likewise discovered for conspiring the death of *Diomedes* the Tyrant, accused the Tyrants best friends, to make him more afraid, and faining to tel him some thing of them in his eare, he bit off his nose. Then being beaten in a mortar, to make him confesse, he bit off his owne tongue (with a singular constancy) because hee shoud accuse no body. *Anaxagoras* the Philosopher did the like. A Prince therefore should be constant, and prepared for all fortunes. For *Seneca* saith, that as a cunning workman can fashion an Image of any kinde of matter: so a wise man should be constant, and take in



good part all kinde of fortune: For (saith hee) as fire tryeth gold, so doth aduersity and crosse fortune, a man of valour.

## CHAP. 6

## A Prince to be secret.

IT is necessary that a Prince should vse great secrecie in all his actions: for *Valerius* saith, that secrecie is the best and surest bond, for by it great matters may be wrought, and without it Princes designements easily crossed. Therefore the *Frenchman* hath a prouerbe, saying, *Que ta chemise ne sache ta guise*. Let not thy shirt know thy secret. *Peter, K. of Arragon*, being asked what he would do with a great Nauy he had prepared, (with which afterward he recovered *Sicily* from the *French*) said, that if he thought his shirt did know it, he would burne it. *Hanniball* flying from *Neron*, *Neron* left his Army neere vnto him, and went himselfe secretly with a reasonable force to ioine with *Linus* against *Asdrubal*, whose Army they ouerthrew, killed him, & 56000 of his men, and tooke prisoners 5400. Which done, *Neron* was returned to his Campe againe, before hee was knowne to be absent. At another time the *Romans* vsed such secrecie, as King *Eumenes* demanding of them aide against King *Persus*, it was neuer known what was demanded, nor what was answered, before the warre was ended which the *Romans* made at his request. The Kings of *Persia* punished to death those that discouered any thing determined vpon in counsell. And in *Darian*, a place in the *Indies*, they will neuer discouer any secret, especialy the spies, for what torment soeuer. Both *Leana* and *Zeno*, before mentioned, were greatly commended for their secrecie, as well as for their constancy. *Alexander Magnus*, reading a letter of great secrecie, one *Ephesion* being in principall fauour with him, presumed to looke on, and to reade it also. *Alexander* would not debarre him, but



but the letter being read, tooke his Ring, and with it sealed *Ephesiens* mouth, saying, that hee who would charge himselfe with another mans secret, ought to haue his mouth close, and sealed. King *Lyfimachus* greatly fauouring *Philipides*, bid him aske what hee would, and it should be granted him. *Philipides* said, I will accept of any fauour you will bestow of mee, so you commit not your secret to me: thinking it fittest for a King to keepe his secret to himselfe, and the safest for another not to know it. So had it been happy for *Fulvio*, if he had neuer knowne the Emperours secrets, for the Emperor *Octavian* committing a secret to him, he discouered it to his wife, whereof the Emperour getting notice, was offended with him. *Fulvio* vnderstanding thereof, and in despaire of the Emperours fauour, told his wife that he would kill himselfe. You haue reason, said she, seeing in so many yeeres you haue not knowne my imperfection, or if you did know it, to trust it: but though the fault be yours, yet will I be first punished, and so killed her selfe: then *Fulvio* did the like. The Poets fained *Tantalus* to be in hell, hauing about him water, & the fruits he desired to eat, which as he offered to take, fled from him alwayes: and this was his punishment, for reuealing that which was by the gods determined in Counsell. They feigned likewise *Sisiphus* to be in like sort punished in Hell, for the same offence, carrying a stone vpon his shoulders vpon a hill, and comming to the top, the stone alwayes falleth from him downe againe, which he returneth to fetch, and so neuer resteth. Therefore *Seneca* saith, that a Counsellour ought to speake much to himselfe, but little to others, for feare of discouering any secret. So that secrecie is most requisite, both in a Prince, and in his Counsellours.



## CHAP. 7.

*A Prince to be Liberall.*

**L**iberality is also necessary and most commendable in a Prince, for it is the bond to oblige all men to him, both friends and foes: for which vertue the Emperour *Titus* was most commended, who laboured by liberality to deface the report against his father for his couetousnesse, and alwayes said, that a man ought not to goe away sad from the face of a Prince. And remembring one night that he had shewed no liberality that day towards any, sighed, saying: my friends I haue lost this day. *Nabuchodonosor* kept bookes wherein he commanded to be written, the seruice which euery one did him, to the end he might reward them. *Alexander Magnus* going to the Conquest of *Asia*, gaue most of his liuing and Kingdome to his Captaines, reseruing hope to himselfe. And hee being in *Egypt*, a poore man asked him something towards the marriage of his daughters. *Alexander* gaue him a City very populous and rich. Sir, said the poore man, you mistake me, or vnderstand me not. No, said *Alexander*, but know, though thou be poore *Biantius* in asking, that I am *Alexander* in giuing. *Iulus Caesar*, before the Ciuill warre, was so liberall to get fauour and loue of the people, as he grew thereby 750000 Crownes in debt. *Cato*, for all the Townes he wonne in *Spaine*, did neuer take any thing for himselfe, but gaue all amongst his Souldiers, saying: that a Captaine ought not to seeke any thing in his charge, but honour and glory. *Scipio Affricanus* was so liberall, as hee condemned riches, for in fifty foure yeeres that he liued, he did neuer buy nor sell any thing, nor made any building, neither was there found in his house after his death, aboue thirty three pound weight of plate. *Marcus Curius*, Consull, who had thrice triumphed, was of the like disposition, for all possessions he had

was



was but a little meane house in the Countrey where he liued for the most part, when publike affaires did permit him, labouring and tylling that little ground hee had himselfe. And when certaine Embassadors were sent to visite him, they found him dressing a Raddish for his supper. And they presenting him a great summe of money from the Commonalty, he refused it, saying: he held it farre more honourable to command them that had gold, then to haue it himselfe. *Lucius Quintus* did the like, for after he had been Dictator, and triumphed with greater pompe then euer did any before him, yet returned he to his poore house againe, refusing all liuing and riches the Senate offered him. For riches and treasure is but a clog, and a heauy burthen to a wise man: which made all the Philosophers to contemne wealth. For *Plato* saith, he that honoureth riches, despiseth wisdom. *Policrates* bestowed fise Talents for a gift, vpon one *Anacreon*, who for two nights after, was so troubled with care how to keepe them, and how to bestow them, as he carried them backe againe to *Policrates*, saying: they were not worth the paines which he had already taken for them. Therefore a Prince should not care how to lay vp, but how to lay out with honour and wisdom. For the liberall person shall haue plenty, saith *Salomon*, *Prou. II.*

## CHAP. 8.

*A Prince not to be couetous.*

AND as by liberality a Prince may attaine to great honour: so by couetousnesse he may bring himselfe to vtter destruction. For the Emperour *Pertinax* was a very good and vertuous Prince, sauing that he was extreme couetous and miserable: insomuch that wheras he should haue rewarded the men of War, who did aduance him to the Empire, he took pensions from diuers of them, which *Traian* his Predecessor, had giuen them, for which, and for his miserablenesse, he was

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killed



killed by his Souldiers. So was likewise *Alexander Seuerus* and his mother also, for the same vice. As in like manner were the Emperour *Galba*, and the Emperour *Mauricius*. And the Emperour *Phocas* by his misery was the ruine and dissipating of the *Roman Empire*, for in his time there fell from the Empire, *France*, *Germany*, *Spaine*, the greatest part of *Italy*, *Eslauonia*, the greatest part of *Affrica*, *Armenia*, *Arabia*, *Macedonia*, *Thracia*, *Assyria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Egypt*, and many other Countreies. *Lewis* the 11, King of *France*, was so miserable, as he was contemned of all Strangers, and caused rebellion in his own Countrey, for he put away all the Gentlemen of his household, and vsed his Taylor for his Herauld of Armes, his Barber for his Ambassadour, and his Physitian for his Chancellour, and in derision of other Kings, he wore a greasie hat of the coursest Wooll, and in his Chamber of accounts, in a bill was set downe 20 Souz for a paire of fleeces to his old doublet, and 15 Denieers for grease to his Bootes. He increased the charge vpon his Subiects, three millions more then any of his Predecessors had done: For which he was mightily hated. *Calipha*, King of *Persia*, hauing filled a Tower with Siluer, Gold, Iewels, & precious stones, and being in Warre with *Allanus*, King of the *Tartarians*, was so euill succoured by his owne people, because he was so miserable, and would not giue them their pay, as he was taken in his owne City, and by *Allanus* committed to prison, in the foresaid Tower, who said vnto him: if thou hadst not kept thy Treasure so couetously, but hadst distributed it amongst thy Souldiers, thou mightest haue preferred thy selfe, and thy City: now therefore enioy it at thine ease, and eate, and drinke thy fill, seeing thou hast loued it so well. And so let him die in the midst of his riches.



CHAP. 9.

*A Prince to be learned.*

**T**Hough it be not good that a Prince should be too great a Scholler, yet it is necessary that he should haue some learning: for *Plato* saith, that neither can ignorant men, nor those that spend all their life in study, gouerne a Common-wealth. For great learned men are perplexed to resolute vpon affaires, making many doubts, full of respects and imaginati- ons. The City therefore of *Norenberg*, did not admit any great learned man into their Counsell, but had some notable learned men, with whom they did conferre, vpon any doubt that might arise in the Counsell. The *Vrsins* likewise in *Italy*, would neuer permit any learned man to gouerne their Common-wealth. Yet *Socrates* saith, That wit without learning, is like to a tree without fruit. It is requisite therefore, that both the Prince, and his gouernours should be learned, as well the better to vnderstand their duties towards God, the Lawes of the Realme, the gouernment of other Common-wealthes, and their Ambassadors, and the Art of Stratagems of Warre. And a Prince should nourish and cherish all learning, for the attaining of all Arts and knowledge. And to that end *Ptolemus*, King of *Egypt*, made a most famous Library in *Alexandria*, of 200000 Volumes.

CHAP. 10.

*A Prince to be religious.*

**B**Vt aboue all things, Religion is most requisite in a Prince, that he be carefull to serue daily the King of Kings, who will prosper him on his Kingdome in earth, so he seekes the Kingdome of heauen, which hee must first seeke for, as appeareth, *Matth. 6.* And in *Deut. 17.* a King is commanded, after he be placed in his Kingdome, to reade the *Deuteronomy*, that he may



learne to feare God, and to keepe his words and Ceremonies which are written in the Law; so doing, a Prince shall prosper, for Salomon saith: God preſerueth the ſtare of the righteous, and is a ſhield to them that walke uprightly, *Prou. chap. 2.* Trust therefore (saith he againe, *Proverbs, chapter 3.*) in God with all thine heart, and leane not to thine owne wiſedome. So *Jacob, Moſes, Hezekiah, and Eliſeus*, did not trust in themſelues, but onely by their prayers and trust in GOD preuailed againſt their enemies. And King *Dauid*, though he laboured by humane diligence to defend himſelfe againſt *Absolon*, yet eſpecially ſought to moue God to mercy, by prayer, *2 Reg. 15.* The Emperour *Marcus Antonius*, being in *Almany* with his Army, was incloſed in a dry Countrey, by his enemies, who ſtopped all the paſſages, that he & his Army were like to periſh for want of water. The Emperours Lieutenant ſeeing him ſo diſtreſſed, told him, that he had heard, that the Chriſtians could obtaine any thing of their God by their Prayers. Whereupon the Emperour hauing a Legion of Chriſtians in his Army, deſired them to pray to their God for his and the Armies deliuey out of that danger. Which they preſently did, and incontinent, a great thunder fell amongſt the enemies, and abundance of water vpon the *Romans*, wherby their thirſt was quenched, and the enemy ouerthrowne without any fight. But prayer will not auaille euery Chriſtian, vnleſſe he walke uprightly, for God wil not heare the prayers of thoſe that lye and wallow in ſinue, as appeareth *Joh. 9.* And *Dauid* ſaith, *Pſal. 65.* If I finde iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not heare me. And God ſaith, when you ſhall extend and liſt vp your hands, I will turne mine eyes from you, and when you ſhall multiply your prayers, I will nat heare you, for your hands are full of bloud, *Iſaias, chap. 1.* Therefore if a man be in wicked or bloody ſinne, his prayer is in vaine.



## CHAP. II.

*A Prince not to shed innocent blood.*

**I**T behoueth therefore a Prince to be vertuous, and to haue speciall care that he put not his hand in innocent blood, neither by tyranny, malice, ambition, pollicy, or vpon false reports and informations. For, to be a Tyrant, is odious to God and man, and to bring himselfe to an euill end. As the Emperour *Nero*, who after he had put to death his mother *Agrippina*, his wife *Octauia*, his brother *Brittannicus*, and his Master *Seneca*. Besides many others, being proclaimed an enemy to the Common-wealth, could get no body to kill him, but was glad to kill himselfe, saying, *Turpiter vixi, & turpius morior*. The Emperour *Caius Caligula*, amongst other his tyrannies, caused at his dinner and supper ordinarily, one to cut off before him the heads of poore prisoners, wherein he tooke great pleasure: in the end he himselfe was killed by his men, who conspired against him. *Nabis* the Tyrant, who vsurped the gouernment of the *Lacedaemonians*, sent for eighty of their yong Princes, and without any cause put them all to death. And shortly after, *Alexamenes*, vnder pretence to serue him, with some company, suddenly stricke him off from his horse, and killed him. And as these tyrants had their iust-rewards, so all others had the like measure. And for their wicked instruments, the people oftentimes did Iustice vpon them. For *Plutarch* writeth, that the wicked Counsellors, and Instruments of *Apollodus*, of *Phalaris*, *Dionysius*, *Nero*, and other tyrants, were cruelly tormented to death by the people, and iustly, saith he, because they, who corrupt, or seduce a Prince, deserue as much to be abhorred of euery one, as those who should poyson a publicke Spring, or Fountaine, whereof all the people doe drinke. But sometimes those Princes that doe vse instruments for their murders will not auow their Commission,



but doe themselves many times put them to death whom they imployed therein, sometimes secretly, sometimes publikely, either to rid themselves of the suspicion and infamy thereof, or for feare of discovery. As *Alexander Magnus* at his fathers Funerals, commanded publike Iustice to be done vpon those, who himselfe had secretly imployed to kill him: The Emperour *Tiberius*, did not onely disauow his Commission, giuen to a Souldier to kill *Agrippa*, but put to death *Seianus*, his speciall fauourite, and instrument of his mischief. *Cesar Borgia*, did the like by a fauourite of his. And let no Prince thinke that he can so contriue his matters, but in the end truth will be discovered and knowne to the world: and through ambition, many haue shewed themselves very barbarous and bloody, as *Tullia*, daughter to *Seruius*, seeing her selfe married to *Aruns*, a man of milde disposition, and her sister of a gentle spirit, married to *Lucius Tarquinius*, who was ambitious, and she not enduring to be thus matched, killed her husband *Aruns*, and her sister, and then married *Tarquinius*, whom she perswaded to kill her father *Seruius*, to haue the Kingdome, and she being in the streets when he was killed, went with her Coach very inhumanely, ouer his body, that his bloud besprinkled her cloathes. *Soliman*, King of the Turks, when he heard the great noyse and shout of ioy his Army made for the returne of his sonne *Sultan Mustapha* out of *Persia*, caused him presently to be strangled in his outward Chamber, and his dead body to be cast out before the whole Army, and one to cry with a loud voyce, that there was but one God, and one *Sultan* vpon the earth. He put to death also *Sultan Seba*, because he wept for his brother, and *Sultan Mahomet*, his third sonne, because he fled for feare. leauing one onely aliue to auoyde the inconuenience of many Lords. The Emperour *Seuerus*, hauing vanquished *Albinus* and *Niger*, his Competitor in the Empire, embred with blood,

put



put a great number to death, and told his sonne *Geta*, that he would not leaue him an enemy. *Geta* asked him, if those he put to death, had neither parents, friends, nor kinsfolke, yes, said the Emperour, a great number. Then said *Geta*, you will leaue vs many more enemies then you take from vs. His sonne *Bassianus*, hauing murthered his brother *Geta*, to haue the Empire alone, and doubting that the Senate would greatly mislike thereof, made a shew that he was sorry for his brothers death, and that he did it by the perswasion of *Letus*, his fauourite, whom therefore he put to death, and all those that did assise him in that action, likewise all those that were friends to *Geta*, lest they should attempt any thing against him, yet in the end he was killed. *Alphonfus*, King of *Naples*, hauing vniustly murthered twenty foure of his Barons, could neuer sleepe quietly for representation of their shapes, which alwayes vexed him in his dreames. And in the end hee fell into that feare of the *French*, as leauing his Kingdome to his sonne, he fled into *Spaine*, to liue in a Monastery, making such haste as he would take nothing with him. And his men perswading him to stay two or three dayes, to make his prouision: no, no, said hee, let vs be gone, doe you not heare how all the world cryes *France, France*? Hee knew himselfe to be so hated. King *Iohn* of *England*, murthered his nephew, and in the end was murthered himselfe. *Richard*, likewise, Duke of *Glocester*, murthered his two nephews, sonnes to *Edward* the fourth, to make himselfe King, and after was slaine in battell by *Henry* the seuenth: for blood requires blood, and let a bloody Prince neuer looke for better end.

CHAP. 12.

*A Prince to be circumspect in giuing credit to reports.*

**B**Vt many Princes haue been mightily abused by false reports, and wrong informations, yea, sometimes



times by the nearest and dearest vnto them, and those that should be most faithfull. *David* therefore prayed God to deliuer him from wicked lips, and a lying tongue, *Psalm*. 119. And in *Eccles*. 3.1. we are warned to take heed of our children, and of our household seruants. And in the sixth chapter, it is said, *Seperate thy selfe from thine enemies, and beware euen of thy friends: for where a man doth trust the most; there he may soonest be deceiued.* As was the Emperour *Glandius*, a tymerous man, and gouerned most by his wife *Messaline*, and by one *Narcissus*, who, of a slaue he had made free, and had familiar credit with *Messaline*. This Empresse became enamoured of a young Gentleman, a *Roman* of a Noble house, called *Appius Sillanus*, and seeing that by no meanes she could draw him to satisfie her wanton desires, she practised with *Narcissus*, that they both early one morning should come to the Emperour, and tell him that they dreamed that *Sillanus* went about to kill him, where<sup>b</sup> they did one after the other; & *Messaline* had giuen commandement; that *Sillanus* at that instant should come to speake with the Emperour. Whereupon *Sillanus* innocently came, and knocked at the Emperours chamber doore: which the Emperour vnderstanding, and perswaded by them that their dreams were true, and that he came then to kill him, commanded *Sillanus* presently to be put to death, which was done. *Salome*, sister to *Herod*, King of *Iury*, perswaded him that the Queene his wife sought to poyson him, and brought certaine false witnesss to confirme her report, to which, the King giuing credit put his Queen to death. But this wicked sister, not satisfied with this, fearing that the Kings two sonnes would reuenge their mothers death, perswaded the King, that they were practising how to kill him, for putting their mother to death. The King fearing the Authority of the Emperour, if he should put them to death, brought them before *Augustus Caesar*, who knowing their innocency



innocency by their weeping, & great lamentation, exhorted the to be dutifull to their father, & their father to make much of them, and so dismissed them; but the Kings sister inuented new matter against them, & perswaded her brother to send the Emperor word thereof, which he did: then the Emperor gaue him authority to punish them as he thought good, whereupon the King put them both to death. But after vnderstanding the truth, and that *Antipater*, his sonne by another wife, practised all this with his sister, he put him to death, & within few dayes after dyed himselfe, his intrailles being inflamed, and thereby his bowels rotted, raging at these accidents. *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, put to death his owne sonne *Demetrius*, vpon the false report and accusation of *Persius* his base sonne, and after, vnderstanding how he was abused, dyed raging. *Adelstan*, first Monarch of *England*, after the entry of the *Saxons*, through the false report of his fauourite, put his owne brother to death. *Francis*, Duke of *Britaine*, put his brother *Giles* to death, vpon the false report of those that were messengers betwixt them, and after, he vnderstanding the truth, put them to death also. Therefore as in *1 Iohn 4.* it is said: *Beleeue not euery spirit, but proue the spirits whether they be of God, or not:* So a Prince should duly and thoroughly examine report, whether it be true or not, before he giue credit thereunto, and especially if it concerne life: for innocent blood doth cry to God for reuenge, as appeareth in the *Apoc. 6.* saying: *How long, Lord holy, and iust, indigest thou not, and reuengest thou not our blood on them that dwell vpon the earth.* And *Salomon* saith, that the hands which shed innocent blood, are most odious in the sight of God, *Prou. ch. 4.* Likewise *Dauid* affirmeth, *Ps. 65.* That God doth abhorre a bloody man. Therefore *Iunenal* saith, that euery stay which is made to giue life to man, is good. And he that doth vse to examine a report, made vnto him, that toucheth a mans reputation, shall free him-



selfe from lyars, for a lye cannot abide examination.

### CHAP. 13.

#### *A Prince to be mercifull.*

**A** Prince therefore should incline himselfe to mercy, and pardon iniuries, and auoyd the vices which may draw him to blood, which chiefly are ambition, pride, choller, and subiection to a woman. *Seneca* saith, that forgiueneffe is a valiant kind of reuenge. And the more powerfull a man is, the more is his honour to forgiue. And *Pittacus* the Philosopher doth affirme, that pardon is better then reuenge: the one (saith he) being proper to the spirit, the other to a cruell beast. Therefore *Alexander Magnus* said, that a man wronged, had need of a more noble heart to forgiue, then to reuenge. And *Cicero* did more commend *Caesar* for ouercomming his owne courage, in pardoning *Marcellus*, then for the great victories against his enemies. The Emperor *Adrian*, attaining to the Empire, forgot and put away all the enemies hee had before. Inso-much, that after he was Emperour, meeting one of his enemies, would not touch him, but said to him, thou art escaped. *Augustus Caesar*, hauing many enemies, by reason of the ciuill warre, did not onely pardon them, but aduanced them to dignities and offices: and thereby wonne their loue, and made them faithfull. *Hamilcar*, hauing ouerthrowne *Splendius*, Generall of the Mutineers against *Carthage*, pardoned the prisoners, and offered them seruice, or liberty to returne to their countrey, which got him great honour, and loue of many of his enemies. *Scipio Africanus*, set at liberty all the Hostages he found in new *Carthage*, after he had wonne it by assault, saying, He had rather bind men to him by good deeds, then by feare. And amongst the Hostages, there was a maruellous beautifull young Lady, who was contract to *Allucius*, Prince of the *Celiberians*.



*berians* : *Scipio* commanded them both to be brought before him, and her parents came with great treasure to redeeme her by ranfome. But *Scipio* said to *Allucius* : my friend, vnderstanding of the loue betwixt this Lady and you, I haue kept her for you, not touched in honor, & for recompence of this faueur, I pray you be a friend to the *Romans*. Her parents then presented *Scipio* with great treasure, which through much importunity he was content to take, but bestowed it presently vpon *Allucius*, who, not long after came to serue *Scipio*, with 1400 horse. *Scipio* likewise by pardoning *Massima*, his vnkle *Massinissa* became and continued a friend to the *Romans*. So that mercy bringeth friendship, and cruelty hatred.

CHAP. 14.

*A Prince not to be proud.*

**P**Ride was the fall of *Lucifer*, the ouerthrow of *Babylon*, and the ruine of many a Prince, for, *nemo superbus amat superos, nec amatur ab illis*. A proud man loveth not the gods, nor is beloued of them. Pride produceth, sometimes cruelty, but alwayes shame; for *Salomon* saith, *When pride commeth, then commeth shame, but with the humble is wisdom*, *Prou. 11*. Therefore God resisteth the proude, and giveth grace to the humble, *Iam. 3*. *Allades*, King of the *Latines*, contemning the gods, deuised how to make a noyse like thunder and lightning, to make the people feare him as a god: but thunder and lightning falling vpon his house from heauen, and a Lake ioyning vpon his house, overflowing extraordinarily, he and his family were were all swallowed vp: *Iulius Caesar*, after he was Emperour, grew so proud, as he was therefore killed by the Senators in the Senate. And the Emperour *Domitian* was so proud, as that hee commanded in all his Proclamations and publicke speeches, these words to be vsed. Be it knowne vnto you from your god and master, for which he was hated



of all the world, and in the end killed The Emperour *Caius* set in his palace like *Jupiter*, with a Scepter in one hand, and a thunderbolt in the other, and an Eagle at his side, a Cobbler seeing him, fel on a great laughter. The Emperour commanded him to be brought before him, and asked him at what he laughed; I laugh, said he, to see thy pride and folly. The Emperour laughed also at his answer and punished him nor, but delighted in his owne pride. But *Philip*, father to *Alexander Magnus*, to auoyde that vice, caused a child to cry vnto him euery day at his chamber dore, before hee went forth. *Phllip*, thou art a man mortall. *Hieronimus*, King of *Cicily*, being very yong, was wholly counselled by his brother in law *Andronodorus*, who made him proud and arrogant and to contemne euery one, and to giue audience to none, nor to suffer almost any to haue accessse vnto him, but to giue himselfe to all kinde of voluptuousnesse, and to be cruell and bloody. *Andronodorus*, hauing brought him to this, conspired with others against him. The treason discovered, and one *Theodorus* called in question, therefore confessed, that he was of the conspiracy, and being vpon the torture, knowing he must dye, accused (to be reuenged of the King) the Kings most faithfull friends and seruants. To which the King giuing credit, put them all to death, and immediately after, was killed by the Conspirators. *Andronodorus* presently seized vpon *Siracusa*, thinking to make himselfe King. But he had such successe therein, as he, his wife, and all his family, and all the line of the King, were quite extirped, as well innocents, as offenders. *Timothæ*, a Captaine of *Athens*, through his pride, did attribute all his victories, onely to his owne pollicy and wisdom. Whereupon (saith *Plutarch*) the gods were angry at his foolish ambition, and did neuer prosper him after, but all things went against him, and in the end hee was so odiously hated, that hee was banished *Athens*. *Cresus*, being



in the height of his pride, most sumptuously set in his Throne, asked *Solon*, if euer he had seene a more gorgeous and glorious sight, yea, said *Solon*, both Capons, Fefants, and Peacocks, for their colours are naturall. *Menecrates*, a Phisician, because he was excellent in his Art, grew so proud, as he caused himselfe to be called *Iupiter*. But *Philip*, King of *Macedonia*, to make him know himselfe, inuited him to a banquet, and made a Table to be provided for him by himselfe, which *Menecrates* seeing, was very ioyfull that it pleased the King to do him that honour, but when he see that instead of meat, they brought him nothing but incense, he was ashamed, and departed with great anger. Yet this King grew a little proud after his conquest, inso-much, that he writ a sharpe letter to *Archidamus*, sonne to *Agessilaus*, who answered him, saying: If thou measure thy shadow, thou shalt not finde it to be growne greater since thou didst ouercome. Pride therefore cannot make a man great but odious.

CHAP. 15.

A Prince to be humble.

Christ did humble himselfe for vs: therefore weeought to humble our selues for Christ, who saith, *He that doth humble himselfe shall be exalted, but he that doth exalts himselfe shall be humbled, Mat. 23.* Humility therfore (affirmeth *Seneca*) is the handmaiden of wisdom. For a wiseman is humble, if not humble, he is not wise. *Carulus Magnus*, to haue euer before his eies, the image of pouerty and humility, did cause certaine very poore men to eate alwayes in his presence, their meat vpon the ground. The *Romans* had a custome, that the Emperour, after a victory, was drawn in a Chariot with foure horses, to the Capitall. and a Clowne set besides him in the Chariot, who stricke him euery foot in the necke, saying: *Know thy selfe*. And when the Emperour was crowned, one alwayes came to him, and af-



ked him, of what kind of mettall or stone hee would haue his Tombe made. And all this to the end the Emperour should be humble. The Emperour *Constantinus Magnus*, was of that humility, as he excelled all other Emperours and Princes whatsoeuer: Yet of that valour as he, subdued *Licinius* his Competitor, and many *Pagan Nations*. The Emperour *Theodosius*, being rebuked by *S. Ambrose*, for a great offence, did in such humility acknowledge his fault, as he did open penance therefore, willingly in the Church, where Saint *Ambrose* was ministring the Sacrament, and so was admitted to communicate. The Emperours, *Valentinian* and *Justinian*, were Princes of great humility, yet famous for their many victories. The Emperour *Alexander Seuerus*, was of that humility, as he would not suffer any to vse other salutations to him, then to say, God saue thee *Alexander*. *Scipio*, preuailing in *Spain* against *Asdruball*, the *Spaniards* called him King, which Title he refused, saying: it was sufficient for him to be called their Generall. *Agathocles*, King of *Sicily*, because he was but a poore Potters sonne, caused himselfe to be serued with vessels of earth, amongst his vessels of gold and siluer, to shew his humility, and what he was. *Julius Caesar*, *Augustus Caesar*, *Claudius*, *Domitian*, *Galba*, *Traian*, *Alexander*, and many other Princes, were of that humility, as they gaue continuall audience themselues vnto the people, to the great content and comfort of the people. And *Octavius Caesar*, did sit daily in iudgement himselfe, and did abhorre the title of Lord, insomuch, that when said to him, O good and gracious Lord, he reprobued him sharply therefore. And the more humble that a man is, the more is he in the fauour of God, who, as Saint *James* saith, chapter 3. *dosh resist the proud, and giveth grace to the humble.*



**A**ND a Prince to be too passionate, and too cholle-  
 ricke, is dangerous, for choller sometimes burneth  
 and dryeth vp the veines, and taketh life, sometimes it  
 blindeth the vnderstanding, and taketh away sense and  
 reason, wherby many a time sodaine mischiefe is done,  
 that bringeth long and too late repentance, for the  
 mind doth not easily see the truth (saith *Salust*) where  
 passion and affection beareth sway. Therefore a  
 Prince especially, should learne to know himselfe, and  
 his imperfections: for *Plato* saith, that the perfect du-  
 ty of a man, is first to know himselfe. And the first  
 Precept that was written in the Temple of *Apollo* at  
*Delphos*, was, *Know thy selfe*. And knowing himselfe,  
 he must then labour to command himselfe, and make  
 reason rule nature. *Agessilaus*, did more glory that hee  
 could command himselfe, then in that he was a King.  
*For he that is slow to anger (saith Salomon) is better then*  
*the mighty man: and he that ruleth his owne mind, is bet-*  
*ter then he that winneth a City, Prov. 16.* Yet moderate  
 ire (saith *Platarch*) doth second valour and fortitude.  
 To auoid choller, *Athenodorus* the Philosopher, counsel-  
 led *Augustus Caesar*, neuer to do, or say, any thing when  
 he was angry, before he had repeated the twenty foure  
 letters of the *A, B, C*; thinking by that time his chol-  
 ler would be appeased. *Virginus*, being chosen Gene-  
 rall of the *Roman* Hosts, refused it, fearing to exceed in  
 choller against *Appius Claudius*, his enemy. *Crotis*, King  
 of *Thracia*, hauing a present brought vnto him, of ma-  
 ny faire vessels of glasse most curiously wrought, after  
 he had well recompensed the gift, did breake them all  
 himselfe of purpose; fearing lest through choller, (to  
 which he was subiect) he should too seuerely punish a-  
 ny of his seruants, if they by chance should breake any  
 of them. But the Emperour *Valentinian* was so ouer-  
 charged



charged with choller, that he fell into such a rage against certaine Ambassadors, as he lost his voyce and speech, and so was carried to his bed, and letten blood, but bled nor, choller hauing burned and dried vp the veines, and so dyed.

Patience therefore is a happy vertue, by which a man may preserve his body, and possesse his soule, saith Christ, *Luke 21. In your patience you shall possesse your soules.* And to attaine to this vertue, *Diogenes* asked almes of the Images in *Athens*, to make him take deni- all patiently. *Aristotle*, being told that one railed on him, was not moued, but said, whē I am absent let him beate me also. And *Socrates*, being abused, spurned, and kicked by an insolent fellow, and seeing his friends offended therewith, said: How now my Masters, if an Assie had kicked and giuen mee a rap on the shinnes, would you haue me to yerke out, and to kicke him againe? *Antigonus*, hearing his Souldiers reuile him behind his pauillion, said to them, you knaues, could you not goe a little further off, when you meant to raile vpon me? One *Nicanor* rayled vpon *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, for which his Counsell wold haue had him seuerely punished, but the King very patiently answered, first let vs see whether the fault be in him or in vs. And vnderstanding that *Nicanor* had deserued well, and that he had neuer giuen him any thing, sent him a rich gift. After which, *Nicanor* spoke very much good of the King: Whereupon the King said to his Counsell, I see well that I am a better Physitian for backebiting then you are: and that it is in my power to cause either good or euill to be spoken of me.



## CHAP. 17.

*A Prince to be moderate in his dyet.*

**N**ATURE is content with a little, therefore if a man doe either eate or drinke, more then sufficeth nature, it is superfluous, and ingendreth euill humours, corrupteth the body, and weakneth the spirits and vnderstanding: for *Diogenes* saith, that the wit is made dul with grosse and immoderate dealing. And *Plato* affirmeth, that those who vse to eat much, although they haue a good wit, yet cannot be wise. The reason is, saith *Plutarch*, because the body being ful of meat, corrupteth the iudgement in such sort, as maketh a man neither fit to giue counsell, nor to gouerne in a Common-wealth, nor to doe any good worke. The Emperour, *Octauius Caesar*, had therefore ordinarily at supper, but three dishes of meat, and when he fared best he had but sixe. And the *Egyptians* in their feasts and banquets, had a dead body dried, brought in amongst them, that the sight thereof might containe them in modesty, and make them temperate in their feeding. *Ada*, Queene of *Caria*, sent *Alexander Magnus* certaine skilfull Cooks, whom he refused, and sent her word, that he had better then they were; namely, for his dinner, early rising, and walking a good while before day, and for his supper, a little dinner, for in those dayes they did commonly eate but one meale a day, as appeareth by *Plato*, who, being demanded if he had seene any new or strange thing in *Cicily*, said, that he had found there a Monster of nature, which did eate twice a day, meaning *Diogenes* the Tyrant. *Agessilaus*, King of the *Lacedaemonians*, passing his Army through the Countrey of *Thracia*, they presented with meale, fowle, baked meates, and all other sorts of delicate meates and conserues. The meale hee was willing to take, but not the rest, yet through great intreaty, he accepted of all, and gaue all



and gaue all (sauiug the meale) to his slaues, and being asked why he did so, he said, It is not conuenient for men who make profession of manhood and prowesse, to eate such delicates; for by pleasure, delicate meats and drinckes, the courage of man is abated: Therefore *Xerxes*, after hee had taken the great City of *Babylon*, would not put the people to death, but to be reuenged of them, commanded them not to exercise any Armes, but to vse and giue themselues to all pleasure, feasting, and drinking. So that by this meanes, they grew to be most vile and base people, whereas before they were most valiant. And by the great feasting and drunkenesse in *Siracuse* in *Cicily*, the *Romans* tooke the towne and spoyled it. The Emperour *Vitellius*, was very riotous in his diet, insomuch, as at one supper, he had 2000 feuerall kinde of fishes, and 7000 dishes of foule, but what followed? Soone after hee was openly put to death by *Vespasian*. *Caligula* likewise, in riotous banquets, in making sweet bathes, and in other vaine and frinolous expences, spent in one yeare, 67. millions of crownes, and in the end was killed. *Nero* also was prodigal in the like charges and banquets, & sumptuous attire, neuer wearing one garment twice. And *Sabina*, his wife had daily the milke of 500 Asses to bathe her in, but their ends were pittifull. The Emperour *Adrianus*, was riotous in his youth, and thereby diseased in his age, which forced him to vse many Phisitians and medicines, but could not be cured. Therefore good order and temperate dyet, prolongeth the life, and preferueth wisdom. Early rising also (saith *Plato*) and much watching, are profitable to keepe a man in health, and to augment his wisdom. It doth withall increase deuotion, for then a man shall find himselfe most apt to serue God.



**B**Vt if he serue his belly with immoderate, and too great delicates, and pamper his flesh too much, it will ( besides dulling of the wit ) make the flesh rebell against the spirit, and fall to incontinency, a vice whereot a Prince ought to haue a speciall care, that he giue not himselfe to the lust of the flesh; for it is a denou-  
ring fire till all be consumed, and rooting up the seed of good workes, saith *Iob* 31. And *Luxuria enervat vires, effeminat artus*. It will make him weake and effeminate, and destroyeth both body and soule, losing thereby also sometimes, both life and kingdome: for by adultery, *Roderico*, last King of the *Gothes* in *Spaine*, committed with the wife of *Iulian*, Earle of *Cewta*, when hee was Ambassadour in *Africke*, he, for reuenge, brought the *Moore*s into *Spaine*, who therupon subdued the Countrey. *Osibright*, King of *Northumberland*, rauished the wife of one *Barne*, who, to be reuenged, brought in the *Danes*, slew *Osibright*, and made great spoyle in the land. The Emperour *Claudianus*, married his brothers daughter, and shee her selfe poysoned him. *Siphax*, King of *Numidia*, transported with the loue of *Sophonisba*, falsified his faith, lost his Kingdome, and life in prison. *Locrine*, King of *Great Britaine*, put *Guendoline* his wife away, and married *Estreld*, daughter to King *Humber*, but *Guendoline* killed her husband in battell, and drowned *Estreld* and her daughter in *Seuerne*. The Emperour *Commodus*, kept three hundred Courtizans, and in the end by one of them, and one of his Parasites, was strangled. *Childericke*, the third King of *France*, for his libidonous life, which made him carelesse in gouerning the Common-wealth, was deposed. And *Lewis* the sixt, King of *France*, for his adultery, was poysoned by *Blanche* his wife: *Heliogabalus*



*balus*, for his libidinous and vicious life, thought he might make an euill end, and therefore if in case he should be pressed by his enemies, he had poyson ready kept in precious stones: he had also halters of silke to hang himselfe: and sharpe kniues of precious mettall to kill himselfe: and he built a high Tower, richly gilded, to breake his necke vpon, if he listed: yet all these denises failed him, for he was strangled by his Souldiers, and trailed vp and downe *Rome*. This is the end a libidinous Prince may looke for. But wise and vertuous Princes will auoyd that vice. As did *Ioseph*, who hauing the wife of *Putiphar* in his power, would not touch her. No more would *Abimelech* faire *Sara*. Nor *Dauid* the *Ebristian* *Sunamite*. Nor *Scipio* the Lady; who was Hostage in *Carthage*; Nor *Dionysius*, the wife to *Phocius*: Nor *Alexander*, the daughter of King *Darius*: Nor *Augustus*, *Cleopatra*.

And as it is hurtfull for a Prince to be allured by a woman to folly, so it is not good for him to be led by the counsell of a woman. For *Aristotle* saith, that part of a womans vnderstanding in which consisteth counsell, is imperfect. Therefore neither the *Romans*, nor the *Lacedemonians*, did euer admit a woman into Councell. Yet *Theodora*, after the death of her husband, the Emperour of *Constantinople*, was chosen Emperesse, and had the onely gouernment of the Empire. Which without the helpe of any, she gouerned in great peace and prosperity two yeares, and then dyed, to the great griefe of all her subiects, who repented them not to be gouerned by a woman.

The Emperesse likewise, *Zenobia* in *Asia*, was a most singular rare woman. For *Obdinator*, her husband, chosen in *Asia* for their Emperour; and after killed by his kinsman, she tooke vpon her the gouernment, and gouerned very well. She was constant in her enterprises, faithfull of her word, liberall in her gift, iust in giuing sentence, seuer in punishment, discreet in her speech,



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speech, graue in her determination, and secret in that she did. She loued not to ride in a Litter, but on horse-backe: she was of stature tall, slender bodyed, her eyes great, her forehead large, her face somewhat pale, her mouth little, and her teeth small. After she was conceiued with child, shee would not company with her husband, saying: that a woman ought not to marry for pleasure, but onely for procreation. She did eate but once a day, and that at night: she drunke no wine, but water compounded more costly then wine: when she went to Campe, or to battell, or to skirmish, she was armed, and euer when there was any seruice, she would be amongst them.

In the end, the Emperour *Aurelianus* besieged her, tooke her prisoner, and carried her in' his triumph to *Rome*, yet pardoned her for her vertue and valour, and gaue her certaine possessions to liue vpon. She liued ten yeares after, as greatly honoured and beloued as *Lucretia*, of all the *Roman* Ladies. But this is (as the *Spaniard* saith) *Una golondrina que non haze verano*. One Swallow which maketh no Summer. Yet I could not but set downe here her perfection, she being such a mirrour for all Ladyes.

CHAP. 19.

*A Prince to beware of Parasites.*

**B**Vt there is another creature about a Prince, more dangerous then a woman, and that is a flatterer, who neuer sings other song then *placcho*, soothing a Prince in whatsoever. *Apelles* drew the picture of a King (which he sent to *Ptolomeus*) set in a chaire of Estate, with great hands great eares, and besides him Ignorance, Suspition, a Tale-teller, and Flattery: these will labour to be about a Prince, therefore a Prince must labour to auoyd them. For an enuious and backbitting Tale-teller, and a Flatterer, are two most dangerous beasts: for *Diogenes* saith, that of wilde beasts, a



backbiter biteth the forest, and of tame beasts, a flatterer.

And *Hermes*, the Philosopher saith, that as a *Cameleon* can change himselfe into all colours saving white: so hath a *Parasite* all points saving honesty, for he windeth himselfe into fauour by any meanes, especially of pleasure, procuring any kind of mirth and delight, and by humouring the party.

For *Alexander Magnus*, and *Alphonfus*, King of *Arragon*, hauing each of them somewhat a wry necke; the one by nature, the other by custome, the flatterers and Courtiers held their neckes on the one side. And like as wormes breed most of all, and soonest in firme, tender, and sweet wood: euen so for the most part, the generous and gentle natures, and those mindes that are more ingenuous, honest, amiable and milde then others, are readiest to receiue and nourish the flatterer that hangeth vpon him. And *Plato* saith, that he who loueth himselfe, and hath a good conceit of himselfe, can be content to admit another to flatter him. But when a *Parasite* seeth nothing to be gotten, then he is gone, being like to lice: For as these vermine neuer haunt the dead, but doe leaue and forsake the corpses so soone as the bloud is extinct and deprived of vitall spirit: so a man shall neuer see flatterers approach to those that are in decay, whose state is cracked, and credite lost. But where there is power and authority, and glory in the world: thither they flocke, and there they grow and shew themselves most malicious, sometimes by speaking euill of others. For *Medeus*, the chiefe Captaine of the flatterers, about *Alexander Magnus*, taught his Schollers to cast out slanders boldly, to bite others, for (said he) though the soare may heale vp, yet the skarre will remaine and be euer scene. By these skarres of false imputations, *Alexander* being corroded and eaten, put to death *Calisthenes*, *Parmenion*, and *Philotas*, his true and faithfull friends.



friends. The Emperour *Commodus*, after the death of his father, was led by Parasites, and vpon their false reports, put to death most of those that were graue Counsellors to his father, and also many of the Senators, and committed the gouernment of all his affaires, to *Perennis*, and himselfe followed his pleasure, which brought him to the end you heard before. The Emperour *Dioclesian*, basely borne in *Sclauonia*, was in his youth very ambitious, and desirous of honour, and from a poore Souldier, came to be Emperour, and then made the people honour him as a god, and to kisse his foot, whereon he did weare guilt shooes, set with pearle and precious stones after the manner of the *Persian* Kings. But seeing in the end, himselfe wonderfully abused by the flatterers of his Court, and that hee could take no order for them, they had him so besieged in their hands, he gaue ouer the Empire, and rettyred himselfe to his house in *Slcaunia*, where he liued euer after, a very priuate life, delighting himselfe with Gardens and rurall workes. But the Emperour *Caligula*, tooke a better course with his Parasites, for one *Afranius Potitus*, and *Afranius Secundus*, made a shew of great sorrow for him when he was sicke, and swore by the gods that they would very willingly dye for his recovery. The Emperour knowing they did but flatter, said then little, but being recovered, called them before him, and said, my good friends. I haue found that you are in fauour with the gods, for since your vow for me, I haue recovered, but fearing I should fall sicke againe, if you accomplish not your vow, I sent for you to dye, desiring you both to take your deaths patiently, and so presently put them to death. *Plutarch* writeth, that *Dionysius*, the Tyrant of *Cicily*, delighting in his owne Poems, asked diuers Philosophers, how they liked them, they all flatteringly, highly commended them, sauing one, who said plainly, that it was a shame to heare them, they were so bad. Whereat the Tyrant offended,



fended, commanded him to the Mines, there to worke amongst the condemned men : but being released by meanes of his friends, and againe in the Kings presence, when he demaunded the opinion of the Philosophers, in another of his Poems, and they all extolling it about the Skies, he cryed to the guard of the Tyrant, saying : Come my masters, come carry me away to the Mines againe, for I cannot endure this foolish flattery. The King by chance, being then in a good humour, was not offended, but turned it to a laughter. *Curtius* saith, that the states of Princes are oftner ouerthrowne by flatterers, then by force. It is a happy thing therefore for Princes to haue those about them that will not flatter, but tell them the truth. For what (saith *Seneca*) wanteth he that hath all? marry one to tell the truth. Therefore the Emperour *Gordian* said, that that Prince is very vnfortunate who hath not about him, those who may plainly tell him the truth. For a King knoweth not what passeth, but by relation of those that conuerse with him. *Theopompus*, being asked how a Prince might preserue his Kingdome, said, by giuing his friends liberty to speake the truth, and in keeping his subiects from oppression. *Phocian* dealt plainly and like a faithfull seruant with King *Antipater*, telling him vpon occasion, that he would do him any seruice possible, but could not be to him both a friend and a flatterer. *Themistocles* in like manner, seeing *Euribiades* taking vp a staffe to strike him for his free speeches, said, strike me, so you will heare me after.

A Prince therefore must permit freedome of speech, if he meane to heare the truth, and giue no care to flattery. *Pessinius Niger*, a Roman Captaine, hearing one praise and flatter him in his Oration, said to him, goe, goe, write the praises of *Marius*, and *Hanniball*, & other old and valiant Captaines that are dead, that we may immitate the, for it is a mockry to praise the that are alie : and as for me, I will do good whilst



I live, and be prayſed when I am dead. Yet *Agſilauſ* king of *Sparta* ſayd, that he liked to be prayſed of thoſe friends, who would not alſo ſpare to blame him, when occaſion ſhould ſerue.

CHAP. 20.

*What kind of perſons to be of a Princes Counſell.*

A Prince ſhould be very carefull in making choyce of his Counſellors. For *Plato* ſaith, that many Princes are vndone, becauſe they want faithfull friends and ſeruants to counſell them. Therefore *Alfred* king of *England*, ſought out the wiſſe, and moſt learned men to be about him. *Alexander Severus* likewiſe made choiſe of honeſt and vertuous Counſellors, and diſplaced the vicious, and ſought to know the truth of all things that paſſed in all places and Prouinces of the Empire. *Fredericus Furius* opinion is, that Counſellours to a Prince ought not to be vnder thirty yeares of age, nor aboue fixty. For (ſaith he) before he be thirty his vnderſtanding is not ſettled, his experience little, his preſumption great, his heate much, his thoughts light, and not of ſufficient grauity. And that after fixty yeares his memory faileth, his vnderſtanding weake, his experience turned to obſtinacy, his heate little, loſing occaſion, his thoughts wearied, and able to take no paines nor traueſſe. Howbeit ſome haue bene able and ſufficient enough after they paſſed that age, as *Camilus* who though he were of very great yeares, yet was choſen Dictator: they finding his memory good, and his ſenſes perfect: So many others haue bene ſince his time. And *Fredericus Furius* ſaith moreouer, that a Counſellour to a Prince ought to be either of a chollericke, or of a ſanguine complexion, for that thoſe of that temper (ſaith he) are witty, haue good memory, can diſcourſe well, are of good iudgement, moſt louing, affable, loyall, liberall, and of great courage



rage : and that the melancholike are base minded, vaine, enemies to noble thoughts, malicious, superstitious, and phantastickall. And *Socrates* saith, a Prince ought not to trust him that is couetous, nor him that is a flatterer, nor to make a passionate, or a too cholericke man of his counsell, nor a drunkard, nor any that is subiect to a woman. For it is not possible (saith he) that they should keepe close his secrets. And *Pythagoras* saith, it is impossible for him to obtaine wisdom and knowledge, that is in bondage to a woman : therefore the Emperour *Alexander Severus* would neuer admit any Counsellor, or other officer, whether he were of Noble parentage, or had done him great seruice, or were commended to him, vnlesse he were of good reputation, learned, of good experience, and of good life. And better to informe himselfe hereof, he caused wrightings to be set vp in common places of the streetes, desiring thereby the people to shew some cause, if they could, why such a man should not be admitted to such a place and office, and would not suffer any office to be sold, because Iustice should not be sold. Yet the Emperour *Vespasian* at the beginning of his raigne gaue the chiefe offices & dignities to the greatest thecues he could find, and being asked why he did so, answered, that he vsed them as a sponge, for when they were full he would wring them, and confiscate all they had, and hang them. Some Princes doe place thecues in authority, not knowing them, but being discovered, it were happy for the common wealth, and good for the Prince, if they were vsed as *Vespasian* vsed his. And *Iulian* the Apostata placed a cruell and troublesome Iudge at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and being told he was y<sup>e</sup> worthy to gouerne : it is true, sayd he, and therefore I placed him there, that he may plague them as they deserue, they being a troublesome and wicked people, but good men are alwayes to be placed in gouernement, that the wicked by example may amend, or be punished, and the good preserved.

For



For *Pisistratus* reputed that common wealth to be well governed, in which wicked men might beare no authority. And a Prince is to haue some for Counsell, some for execution, for very seldome doth it concurre in one man to haue wit to discourse well vpon any matter in Counsell, and to haue iudgement to execute that which by Counsell is determined. The Captaine *Pisania* was in consultation of a weake iudgement, but in executing any thing resolu'd vpon by Counsell, very ready. *Francis* the first, King of *France* did exceed all his Counsell in consultation: but in his execution was not answerable to his aduise. Pope *Clement* the 7. did exceed all other in Counsell; but in executing was inferiour to euery one. And as it is necessary that a Prince should haue a graue and wise Counsell: so is it requisite hee should haue some about him for his pleasure. So *Alexander Magnus*, when he went into *Asia* against *Darius*, tooke with him two of his most speciall friends and seruants, *Craterus* and *Hephestion*, very different in complexion, and in condition: for *Craterus* was graue, seuered and stoike, and only cared for matters of State and Counsell, being one of the Kings principall Counsellors. And *Hephestion* was a young Gentleman of good complexion, gallant, active, and full of sport, and onely cared how to recreate the King. So that *Craterus* was called a friend to the King: and *Hephestion* a friend to *Alexander*. But a Prince had need to be very carefull in choosing of his friend, to be inward and familiar with him. For *Augustus Caesar* did not receiue a man to his amity and familiarity, but first did proue him, and sound his virtues, fidelity and loyalty, and those who hee knew to be vertuous, and that told him freely the truth in all things, and that did not flatter, and that employed themselves willingly and sincerely in his affaires, and after hauing had good prooffe hereof, he receiued them for his friends. *Alciades*, to try his friends, made them one after another beleue, that he had killed a man, and they all



refused to endanger themselves for him, saving one *Ca-  
lius*. The Emperour *Constantinus* to make proofe of his  
friends, made shew to abandon Christian Religion, and to  
turne to Idolatry, he was instantly applauded by a great  
number, whom presently he banished the Court. For a  
Prince shall neuer want followers in any thing. The  
world counselling those that serue Princes to please them  
in whatsoeuer, though it redound to the losse of their  
soules, and ruine of the common-wealth, for so they shall  
obtaine honor, riches, pleasure, and quietnesse: but what  
is their end? *Ducunt in bonis dies suos, & in puncto ad in-  
ferna descendunt*, saith *Iob. 21*. They lead their dayes in  
pleasure, and in an instant descend into hell. For when they  
shall say peace and security, then shall suddaine destruction  
come vpon them, saith Saint Paule, *1. Thes. 5*. And *Daniel*  
saith, *Psal. 36. Vids impium superexaltatum, & elenatum  
ficus Cedrum Libani, & transiit eum. & non est inuentus  
loeu eius*. I did see the impious mightily exalted and raised  
on high as the Cedar tree, and I passe by, and presently  
he was gone, I sought him, and his place was not to be  
found. Saint *Augustine* therefore affirmeth, that it is  
better to suffer torments for speaking the truth, then to re-  
ceiue great rewards for flattery. And Saint *Chrysostome*  
sayth, *Fear not them that kill the body, least for feare of  
them, thou speake not the truth freely*. And as Coun-  
sellours ought to haue freedome of speech: So *Frede-  
ricus Fuasius* doth wish a Prince, for tryall of his Coun-  
cell, to aske counsell sometimes in things contray to  
the good of the Common wealth, and to his owne in-  
tention.

And *Demetrius Phelarius* counselled *Ptholomews*  
King of Egypt, to reade bookes which treated of Kings  
and Common wealths, for that in them he should finde  
many things which his Counsell and families durst not  
tell him. But *Aristeus* saith, that the greatest and best  
guard a Prince can haue, is to be accompanied with a  
great



great number of iust and expert Counsellours, who through mere loue, setting their owne particular commodity apart, regard onely the profite and welfare of the Prince and common wealth, speaking freely what they thinke. For Counsellours, sayth *Iulius Caesar* in one of his orations to the Senate, should not be led by malice, friendship, anger, nor mercy. And if they concur in one lawfull opinion, though the Prince be opposite, yet it is fitting he should yeeld to them. For so did the Emperour *Marcus Antonius*, saying: *It must bee as You will: for it is great reason, that I being but one, should follow your opinion, then you being many, Wise and Learned, should yeeld to mine.*

## CHAP. 21.

*Not good to commit the charge of the Common wealth to one Counsellor onely.*

**B**UT it is very dangerous for a Prince to be led by the aduice and counsell of one onely, or to commit the gouernement of the Common wealth to one Counsellour onely. And so *Commynes* dath witnesse, saying: that A Prince ought to haue many Counsellours, and not commit any cause of importance to one onely, and that all his Counsellours should be equall in fauour: otherwise, if he be led onely by one, and make no accompt of the rest, not giuing them equall hearing, he may endanger himselfe, as did *Hieronimus* King of *Cicily*, who was onely counselled by his brother in law *Andronodorus*, who made him odious to all the Kingdome, and then killed him.

*Sisilico* likewise gouerned all vnder the Emperour *Honorius*. And to get entrance to make himselfe Emperour, took pay from the *Goths*, of purpose to make them rebel which thereupon they did, and by the aide they got, spoyled *Thracia, Hungaria, Austria, Sclanonia, and Dalmatia:*



*Stilico*, though hee might, yet would not quite ouerthrow them, whereof *Honorius* being informed, put to death both *Stilico* and his sonne. Vnder the Emperour *Commodus* first *Perennis* ruled all, and for displacing the Nobility, and preferring base persons, was killed by the souldiers. After him *Cleander* managed all, and a great famine and plague beeing in *Rome*, the people imputed the cause thereof to him, and thought to kill him: Hee to appease this sturre ranne vpon the people with the Emperours horse-men, and killed a great number of them. The Emperour fearing himselfe, sent for *Cleander*, presently cut off his head, and sent it to the people, wherewith they were appeased, yet in the end *Commodus* himself was killed. The Emperour *Seuerus* permitted *Plantianus* to gouerne all vnder him at his pleasure, who in the end practised to kill him, and his two sonnes. But *Bassianus* the Emperours sonne vnderstanding thereof, and that his Father meant to pardon him, killed him in the Emperours presence. The Emperour *Galba* was a good Prince and wise, yet suffered himselfe to be onely gouerned by *Titus Iunius*, *Cornelius Laco*, and *Icelius Martinus*, who by their wicked gouernement made the Emperour to be hated of all estates, and therefore the people murdered him. This Emperour was the more hated because he entertayned *Halotus* and *Tygeninus*, who were principall seruants to *Nero*, and instruments in all his wickednesse. So *Otho* likewise Emperour after *Galba*, though hee thought by good words and liberality to get the hearts of the people, yet did they hate him, for that he had some about him, who had beene instruments and Counsellors to *Nero*. The Kings of *France* for forty yeares, giuing wholly to their pleasures, permitted the Maior of the Palace of *Paris* to gouerne all at his pleasure, which gaue opportunity to *Pipin* to make himselfe King: Who being wise, vertuous, and well beloued, was thereby adomitted their King. But the Emperour *Tyberius*

giuing



giuing himselfe to pleasure, and committing the gouernment to *Seamus*, who grew proud thereof, and tooke vpon him as he had bene Emperor, and had statues made him, before which they offered sacrifice, and happy were they that had his fauour: The Emperour hearing of his pride, and insolency, committed him to prison: then those that did most honour him, contemned him, and spoke euill of him. And the Emperour put both him, and all his children to death. *Zoticus* had that credite with *Helioabalus*, as he was held Lord ouer all the rest, his counsell as a Law, and by his direction all Offices were sold: He made Consuls the sonnes of slaues and base men. And King *Attolus* gaue himselfe so to his pleasure, as one *Phylopamen* gouerned him as hee listed. Insomuch that the *Romanes*, when they did see any ship of *Asia* come by, asked if the King was still in the good grace and fauour of *Phylopamen*. But *Charles* the seauenth King of *France*, hauing diuers wife, and faithfull Counsellours of meane parentage, at the time he had ciuill Warre with the Duke of *Burgundy* (whom the Duke of *Brittany* secretly fauoured) moued the Dukes to peace, who answered, if the King would remooue his Counsellours from him, and take others, that they would accord. Whereuppon the Kings Councell perswaded him to accept thereof, and they most willingly refused the Court, and retyred themselues to their owne houses, and so the Warre was ended. Therefore a Prince should take care for the good education of his Nobility, and honour the Noble and worthy families; whereby they may continue in the Vertue and Valour of their Ancestors, and the Prince thereby be the better serued. In *Rome* there was a Law made, called *Prospina*, by which the off-spring of *Siluius*, of *Torquatus*, and of *Fabricius*, were more honoured and priuiledged then any other, because they were ancient Families, and more valiant then others: They had a Law also, that those who were descended



descended of wicked persons, as of *Tarquinius Superbus*, of the Consull *Efeaurus*, of *Caelin*, of the Censor *Fabius*, and of the Traytor *Bicinus*, should beare no Office in the Common-wealth, nor dwell within the circute of *Rome*. But Nobility marrying base'y, do oftentimes degenerate. For when nature (sayth *Plato*) produced man, she gaue vnto him three properties of the mettals, as to those that were fit to gouerne the people, the property of Gold: To them of force and valour, to defend the Common-wealth, the property of Siluer; and the property of Iron and Brasse to handy-craftes men; and common people, to work and labour. And he sayth, that marrying the Noble with the Ignoble, is to mixe good mettall with base mettall, which is the ouer-throw of Nobility, and changing of gouernment of the Common-wealth. Therefore he counselleth euery one to marry with their equals, Nobles with Nobles, and ignobles among themselves.

## CHAP. 32.

*A Prince not to place a Stranger in Authority.*

A Prince is also to haue speciall regard that hee giues not a Stranger authority in the Common-wealth, nor trust him too much. For the ancient *Romans* would neuer giue any charge or Office in the Common-wealth to a Stranger: Insomuch that after the Battell of *Cannas*, for want of sufficient men to be Senators in *Rome*, *Spurius Carulus* making a motion to haue had some of the *Latis* chosen for Senators, they would not agree thereunto, but all hated *Spurius* for that motion. And *William* King of *Cicily*, descended of the house of *France*, making a French-man his Chancellour, the Noble-men much grieued thereat, conspired, and in one night killed all the French-men in *Cicily*, in *Apulia*, and in *Calabria*. *Charles* the 8. King of *France* expelled the *Spaniards* out of *Naples* by the helpe of the *Neapolitanes*, and placed French-men in all authority and gouernment there. Whereupon  
the



the Neapolitans grieved, made a generall revolte, and did drive out the French-men againe. The Duke of *Britaine* having married an English woman was so affected to the English, as his subiects much disliked thereof, and hee mistrusting th<sup>m</sup>, sent for English-men to governe vnder him, but before they came, his owne subiects seized vpon all the Forts and Townes in *Britany*, and forced the Duke to flye into *England*. The Prince of *Wales* placing English-men in all Offices and authority in *Aquitaine*, made the Country-men grudge thereat: and in the end revolte, by which meanes *Aquitaine* was lost. *Alexander* King of the *Epirots*, giuing entertainment to a number of the *Lucemians* banished out of their Country, and after making Warre against their Country, thought he should be well serued by them, who promised to yelde their Country into his hands, but they made a secret compact with their Country-men to the contrary, for drawing the King into a conuenient place for their purpose, they shewed themselves his enemies, and he swimming a riner, to escape, in landing was killed by one of them. The Emperour *Gordian* making an *Arabian* his Lieutenant called *Phillipus*, a man of base parentage, he procured the Emperours ouerthrow, and in the end killed him most barbarously. *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* was betrayed by an *Italian* the Earle of *Campobach*, and killed before *Nancy*.

## CHAP. 23.

*Dangerous for a Prince to take ayde of a Stranger.*

**A**Nd if a Prince take ayde or succours of a stranger stronger then himselfe, he may thereby endanger his estate. For the *Esforques* called but to aide the City of *Vulture*, subdued it. The *Heraules*, *Goths*, and *Lombards*, called into *Italy* for succours, became Lords thereof. So did they of *Franconia* with their King *Phar-*

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ramond;



ramond; by the *Gaules*, now *France*. And the *Saxons* did the like by *England*. The *Turkes* in like manner got the East Empire; and *Hungaria*, called first in by the Emperour of *Constantinople*, and by the States of *Hungaria*. *Cairadin* a Pyrate called by the Inhabitants of *Alger*, to expell the Spaniards, after hee had vanquished the Spaniards, slew *Selim* Prince of the Towne, and made himselfe King, leaving the estate to his brother, *Aradin Barbarossa*. *Saladin* a *Tarsarian* Capitaine called by the *Calipha* and Inhabitants of *Cair*, to drive the Christians out of *Soria*, after the Victory agaynst the Christians, slew the *Calipha*, and became absolute Lord thereof. The *Romanes* called into *Cisily*, by the *Mamertins* or *Campanois*, to aide them, did subiect both them, and all *Cisily* in the end. *Francis* King of *France*, had a de of *Soliman* the great *Turke*, agaynst *Charles* the fifth, who fearing by continuing the War, that the *Turke* might get that footing, as to overcome all Christendom, made peace with *France*. But then the *Turkes* *Bascha* being in *Mirceles*, the King of *France* could not get him out, before hee had succours from the Emperour: who was forced to ayde him. Therefore when Pope *Innius* the second, *Maximilian* the Emperour, *Ferdinando* King of *Spaine*, and *Lewis* King of *France*, had entred league agaynst the *Venetians*: *Selim* the great *Turke*, offered to send the *Venetians* succours, which they refused, fearing that accepting thereof, they should be in danger of the *Turke*.

## CHAP. 24.

*A Prince to get and keepe the love of his Subjects.*

A Prince therefore, to the end he may be strong at home, and neede no Forraine force, should alwayes respect his owne subiects (especially men of worth and service) as well in peace as in VVare, that hee may winne the love



loue and hearts of his subiects, the meanest whereof may be able to doe him some kinde of seruice, at one time or other. For *Seneca* sayth, that the onely inexpugnable force of a Prince, is the loue of his subiects. Wherefore the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, in his speeches to his Councell, commending his sonne vnto them, sayd: It is not the abundance of money and Treasure, nor the multitude of souldiers that maintayneth a Prince, and causeth him to be obeyed, but the loue of his subiects. For those (sayth hee) doe onely long and safely Reigne, who doe ingraue in the hearts of their subiects, not a feare by force and cruelty, but a loue by bounty and liberality. And those that willingly yeelde to obedience, and are not contrayned by seruitude, ought not to be suspected of the Prince. And subiects (sayth he) neuer refuse to obey but when they are vied with violence and contumely. *Missa* King of *Numbia* exhorting his sonnes at his death to keepe amity and concord amongst them, sayd: It is not the great forces, nor Armies, nor great Treasure by which a Prince should preserue and maintayne his estate, but friends, who are not gotten by force of Armes, nor with money, but by good vsage and loyalty.

And *Cornelius Tacitus* sayth, that a Prince can haue no greater, better, nor siter instruments to keepe and conserue his estate, then good friends: Wherefore a Prince should haue care alwayes of his subiects, and vie them well. For *Antonius Pius* would say, that hee had rather preserue one of his subiects, then kill a thousand of his enemies. And *Pythagoras* affirmeth, that subiects are to the Prince, as the Wind to the fire, for the stronger the Wind is, the greater is the fire: So the richer the Subiects be, the stronger the Prince. But where Matcheul's principle taketh effect, there the subiects must be made poore by continuall Subsidies, exactions, and impositions, that the people may be alwayes



kept vnder as slaues, and feare the Prince, which course extinguisheth the loue of the people towards the Prince, and ingendreth hatred. Therefore *Pythagoras* counsell is better: And a Prince to enrich his subiects, the only way is to keepe them in peace, without quarrels, and dissensions, and too grieuous exactions. Therefore *Philip Communes* blameth greatly such Princes as doe not seeke to compound and end dissensions and quarrels amongst their greatest subiects, but rather doe nourish the one part, wherein they doe but set their owne house on fire; as did the Wife to *Henry* the sixt, taking part with the Duke of *Somerset*, against the Earle of *Warwick*, which caused the warre betwixt the House of *York* and *Lancaster*. Likewise *Charles* the seauenth King of *France*, being Dolphin, taking part with the Duke of *Orleans*, against the Duke of *Burgundy*, was the cause that the Duke of *Burgundy* brought *Henry* the fifth into *France*. And for exaction, the Emperour *Augustus* made a Law called *Augusta*, that no payment should be exacted of the people, but for the profite of the Common-wealth. And when *Marcus Antonius* layd a double tax vppon the people, they answered, That if he would haue two taxes in one yeare, hee must giue them two Summers, two Haruests, and two Vintages. For the people cannot endure to bee overcharged; if they bee, great inconuenience may grow thereby. For *Phillip Le Bell* King of *France*, being receiued in *Flanders* as Lord thereof, charged the people with excessive taxes, and suffered the French to commit all insoleney and iniuries against the people, fauouring the Nobility, and exempting them from all taxes, impositions, and charges, whereupon they of *Bruges* begonne to reuolte, and killed all the French in the Towne. After this the *Flemings* over-threw the forces of King *Phillip*, and freed themselves from the French.

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Therefore if the Princes Councell, or Nobility, doe yeelde to haue any thing imposed vpon the people, it is fitting they should not be exempt, but beginne and lay it first vpon themselves as the *Romanes* did, for the people murmuring against the Consuls for imposing a great charge vpon them, Consull *Leulinus* sayd: As the chiefe Magistrate is in honour aboue the Senate, and the Senate aboue the people, so ought he to be a guide, and the first to submit himselfe to endure all kinde of paine and trouble: For if thou wilt impose a charge vpon thy inferiour, first beginne and lay it vpon thy selfe, and then it will more easily follow: therefore let vs beginne with our selues, sayd hee, and so they did. The great impositions the Prince of *Wales* layd vpon the Countrey of *Guienne*, was a great cause of the losse thereof. The Duke of *Orleans* Gouenour of *France* for *Charles* the sixt, was extremely hated of the *Parisians* for a great imposition he layd vpon them, for reformation whereof, the Duke of *Burgundy* leuyed great forces, and in the end caused the Duke of *Orleans* to be killed.

The Duke of *Anion* regent of *France*, laying a great imposition vpon the people, a Collector thereupon demanding a Denier of a poore Woman for a basket of Herbes, which shee refusing to pay, hee forced to take her Herbes, but she crying, was rescued by the people, and an uproare did arise, which did great hurt before it could be appeased. The Earle of *Flanders* likewise, laying a great imposition vpon the people, made them rebell against him. And *Lewis* the twelfth King of *France*, making Warre against *Lodowicke Sforse* Duke of *Milan*, who knowing himselfe to be very odious to his subjects, for his great exactions and impositions, and fearing that they would abandon him, assembled the people at *Milane*, and to gaine their good wills, remitted diuers taxes which he had imposed vpon them, and gaue them



many reasons and excuses for his former proceedings. But such barred they had conceived against him, as all would not serue, for within few dayes after, they tooke armes, called in the French, killed his Treasurer, and made him flee. When the Battell of *Cressy* was fought, the people of *France* were in extreame poverty, by reason of the euill government of the publicke Treasure, of the false-hood of the Treasurers and Magistrates (who enriched themselves by the p. uerty of the people), and of the increase of Taxes, Subsidies and Impositions, which drew the people into dispaire (oppressed also with Famine and Plagues) that when the King would haue leuyed another Army, hee could not get the French to it. A Prince therefore should loue and cherish his Subjects, but not oppresse them. For *Tiberius Nero*, when some periwaded him to take great Tributes of the Prouinces, sayd, that a good shepheard should sheare his sheepe, but not deuoure them. And *Lewis* the ninth King of *France*, his chiefe care in sparing was to ease the people by abating the Taxes and Subsidies layd vpon them by his Predecessors. And that State (*sayth Thales*) is best ordered which hath it, neither too wealthy, nor too poore Citizens.

## CHAP. 25.

*Who to haue the charge in Warre.*

Force and Valour most properly should belong to the Nobility, and they thereby defend the people, and bee their Leaders in Warre. Therefore for a Prince to take that charge from them, or to displace them, if they be sufficient, is not conuenient. For *Perennis* hauing the whole gouernement vnder the Emperour *Commodus*, displaced all the Noble Captaines, and put other base persons in their roomes, whereat the Army being grieued, pulled *Perennis* in peeces, as an enemy to the



the Common wealth. *Anno* causing the glory of *Mutines* tooke his charge from him, and gaue it to his owne sonne. Whereupon *Mutines* practised with the Consull and betrayed to him the Towne of *Agriense* in *Cieily*, whereby all *Cieily* was brought in subiection to the *Romanes*. *Lwes* the eleuenth King of *France*, displacing the Noblemen and his good seruants, and giuing the Offices to men of base quality; ciuill Warre did arise, but the King presently acknowledging his errour, restored them againe. Yet it behoueth a Prince to be respectiue, and not to giue a charge to a seuerer man. For sometimes a good Prince shall be hated for his wicked *Gouernour*, as was *Scipio*, for the cruelty of his Lieutenant *Pleninius*. And *Lucullus*, though he was wise and Valiant, and did many exploits against *Mythridates*, and *Tygranes*, two of the greatest Kings of *Asia*, yet was hee so seuerer and vncourteous, as his souldiers loued him not, neyther would obay him in the end. Whereupon the *Romanes* set *Pompey* in his place, who by his courtesie and clemency wonne the hearts of his souldiers, and thereby brought all the East parts vnder the obedience of the *Romanes*, and so reaped the fruites of *Lucullus* labours, and had the honour thereof with Tryumph. *Appius Claudius* vsed in like manner great rigour and seuerity amongst his souldiers, insomuch as they would doe nothing for him, though he put some of the Captaines to death, but reioyced to be over-throwne, to dishonour him. And at another time the *Romane* souldiers, for despise they had against the Ten-men, suffered themselves to be vanquished. And *Marcus Popilius* Consull subduing the *Egyptians* (now *Genenois*) rebelling against the *Romanes*, rayed their Towne walls, tooke their armour from them, and sold them, and their goods: which the Senate thought to be a too seuerer and cruell part of *Popilius*, and an euill example for others to stand vpon extremitie, rather then to yeeld, or to trust to the clemency of the *Romanes*.



*manes*. Therefore commaunded all that were sold to bee redeemed, their goods to be restored, they suffered to haue armour, and *Populus* to bee called home, and his gouernement giuen to another. Therefore a Prince for his Warres had neede to appoynt not onely a wife, but a temperate and Valiant Commander. For (*Plato* sayth) that a man temperate not endued with fortitude, falleth easily into cowardlinesse, and basenesse of minde; and that a strong and Valiant man without temperance, is easily carried away with temerity and boldnesse. So was *Flaminius* ouer-throwne and killed by *Hanniball* at *Trafamene*, for not staying to ioyne his forces with the other Consull. And *Mimius* in the absence of *Fabius*, hauing charge and command ouer the Army, vpon his rash attempt against *Hanniball*, had good successe. Whereupon he would needes haue the Army diuided betwixt them, and haue equall charge: to which *Fabius* condescended: *Hanniball* perceiuing his rashnesse and insolence, gaue him battell and ouer-threw him; but *Fabius* being at hand, gaue him succours, whereupon *Mimius* confessed his error. And then *Hanniball* said, that the Cloud which had wont to hang vpon the mountaynes, stirred with Wind and Tempst, was turned to Raine; for *Fabius* kept the heights and would not fight but with good aduantage; therefore *Hanniball* teared his wisdome.

And when *Fabius* had gotten the Towne of *Tarent* by Treason, *Hanniball* sayd, I perceiue the *Romanes* haue also their *Hanniball*. But at *Treue*, *Hanniball* defeated the *Romanes*, who came to battell sitting, which was a great ouer-fight in the Consull. But *Hanniball* commaunded all his men to eate some meate before. *Marsellus*, through the default of his owne souldiers, was ouerthrowne by *Hanniball*; but his wisdome was such, as first rebuking his souldiers therefore, and then encouraging of them, he gaue battell the next day to *Hanniball*.



nibal, and defeated him. But the Consull *Minutius* was of a weaker spirit, temperate without fortitude, for hee being sent agaynst the *Eques*, durst not come neere them, but fortified himselfe in his Campe, which they seeing, besieged him in his Tents. Whereupon *Lucius Quintus* was created Dictator, who relieved him, and subdued the *Eques*, but would giue no part of the spoyle, neyther to *Minutius*, nor to his souldiers, but rebuked them. So that Wisedome, Temperance, and Valour, are necessary in a Generall.

Dissention likewise in an Army is to be auoyded, for by the dissention betwixt the Consuls, *Hannibal* overthrew them at the battell of *Cannae*. Therefore *Claudius Nero*, and *M. Lucius* being enemies, and chosen Consuls, made themselues friends, for the good of the Common-wealth. So *Aristides* and *Themistocles*, sent Embassadours by *Athens*, did reconcile themselves during that imployment. *Cretes* and *Hermias* not friends, and being in their City of *Magnetia* besieged by *Mystridates*, *Cretes* offered *Hermias* the charge of Captayne Generall, and to depart the City himselfe: or if *Hermias* had rather depart, then to leaue that Office to him, lest by their both being in Towne, ieaiousie might grow betwixt them, and breed hurt to their Country. *Hermias* seeing the honest offer of his Companion, and knowing him to be the more sufficient, yeilded to him the charge, and left the Towne.

And as dissention is hurtfull, so enuy is not fitting. For the French men ayding *Iohn* King of *Castile*, agaynst *Denis* King of *Portugall*, had vpon their earnest request, the poynt of the battell, which did offend the Spaniards, who were desirous thereof, inso much that the French-men giuing the charge, the Spaniard would not second them, but suffered them all to be slayne or taken, and then they set vpon the *Portugals*, who hauing vanquished the French, and seeing the *Castilians* come, killed all their prisoners, and then over-threw them also:



Pope *Boniface* the ninth, and the French King, sent great forces agaynst the Turke *Bajazet* : Their Generall was the Earle of *Nemers*, who against the will of the King of *Hungary*, and of all the Campe gaue the first charge, and without order, and was ouer-throwne, whereupon the Army of the Christians fled. Anno 1396. by reason whereof the Turke tooke al *Greece*, and the greatest part of *Bulgaria*, and then besieged *Constantinople*.

And it is also very requisite that the Generall should keep his souldiers from idlenesse, for *Segnitie robur frangit, longa otia nervos*. Sloath weakneth the sinewes, and diminisheth a mans force, and is the nurse of all vice, making a man most base. Therefore *Aleu* a King of *Seyshia* sayd, that hee thought himselfe no better then his Horse-keeper, when hee was idle. A vice to which Gentlemen alwayes haue beene too much giuen. Insomuch that in *Athens* (where they did not suffer the people to be idle : a Citizen being iudicially condemned for idlenesse, one *Herondas* requested one to shew him the party that was condemned for a Gentle-mans life. In *Carthage*, to auoyde this vice, the Noble-men did alwayes exercise Armes ; the common people laboured ; and the Learned men were euerteaching and instructing others. And in the Common-wealth of the *Lacedemonians* none were idle ; for all men laboured ; and they sending one *Chilon* to *Corinthe*, to treat of a League, hee found the Magistrates idly exercised, playing at Dice : whereupon hee returned home, and would not speake of his Commission, saying : That hee would not stayne the glory of *Sparta* with so great an ignominy, as to ioyne them in society with such kinde of people. *Marius* caused his souldiers to make Trenches when there was no cause, onely to keepe them from idlenesse. *Claudius* hauing an assured peace, for the auoyding of idlenesse, kept thirty thousand men, twelue yeares in working the Channell *Fucinus*, that *Rome* might haue good water. And when the Lawes were well kept in *Rome*, at the time they



they had Warres with the *Celtiberians* in *Spaine*, and with *Alexander*; the Senators went three dayes about *Rome* with the Censors, and could not find one idle man for a messenger to carry their letters. But in *Marcus Aurelius* time there were plenty, for he confesseth that hee banished, punished, and put to death in his time 30000. idle Vagabonds, and 10000. idle women. And *France* being troubled with a great number of idle vagabond souldiers: *Bertrand de Guesclin*, (to free the Countrey of them) drew them all to goe with him into *Spaine* agaynst the *Sarazins*. *Bruce* King of *Scotland* exhorted his subiects to exercise Armes alwayes, for that idlenesse would corrupt them, and for want of practise they would not be able to resist their enemies. A Prince therefore being the Lanterne to his subiects, should giue good example herein. *Alfred* King of *England* had that care to eschew idlenesse, and to spend his time well, as he diuided the day into three parts, by a Taper that burned continually in his Chappel 24. houres: The first part he spent in Prayer and in study: The second part hee employed in the affaires of the Common-wealth; and the third part he tooke for his recreation and rest. A good president for other Princes.

CHAP. 26.

*A Prince to be well aduised before hee begin Warre, and carefull in his fight.*

**I**T is not for a Prince vpon euery quarrell to make War, but to be sure that the cause be good and iust, which then wil bring honor to his Person, safety to his soule, and great encouragement to all his souldiers. Yet (according to the saying of *Octavius Caesar*) neyther battell, nor War is to be vndertaken, vnlesse there may be evidently scene more hope of gayne, then feare of damage: for such as sought after the smallest commodities not with a little danger, he likened vnto those that Angle with a golden hooke, for the losse whereof, if it hapned to be snapped or broken off, no draught of Fish whatsoeuer was able to



make amends. And it is necessary that a Prince, or his Generall, should consult and take counsell before hee fight, for the aduice of his Captaines heerein may doe great good. Therefore the *Carthaginians* commaunded those Captaines to be hanged, that got Victory without any consultation before. And those that did first consult, and then were ouer-throwne, they did neuer punish. And hauing taken counsell and resolution, execution is to follow without delay, least occasion be lost. For *Aristotle* sayth, that a wise man ought to counsell slowly, and execute speedily; and if Victory be gotten, to follow it hotly is the best, before the enemy (being discouraged) be able to make head agayne. For if *Hannibal* had done so after the battell of *Cannas*, and not lingered to refresh his men, he had taken *Rome*. Likewise *Pompey* in a skirmish, put *Cesar* to the worse, which if he had pursued, he had quite ouer-throwne *Cesar*. Yet a man must take heed he follow not the Victory too fiercely, nor out of order. For so *Phillip* King of *Macedonia*, by following the *Romanes* too fiercely was defeated. So likewise *Gaston de Foix*, hauing wonne the battell at *Ramenna*, pursuing too fiercely a Squadron of Spaniards that fled, by them was ouer-throwne, lost his life, and made all that a prey to the enemy, which before hee had Conquered in *Italy*. And an enemy is not to be contemned, though his Forces be interior, for oftentimes it is not the multitude of men that getteth the Victory, but the courageous and resolute mindes of the souldiers, assisted by God. For King *Alexander* with 33000. foote-men, and a 5000. horse-men, ouer-threw the *Persians*: and *Darius* army of 400000. foot-men, and 100000. horse-men. *Robert le Frison*, with a few, and without experience, defeated *Phillip* King of *Frances* great Army and old Souldiers. The Earle of *Namure* with the Flemings being but a few, ouer-thre the Earle of *Artois*, sent by *Phillip* the fayre King of *France*, with 40000. French-men into *Flanders*, whereof 300. escaped not. At the battell of *Poitiers*



*Peiters* the Prince of *Wales* with 8000. English, overthrew 40000. French, tooke King *John* and his Sonne prisoners, and also a number of Princes and Noble-men. *Henry* the fifth at the battell of *Agincourt* with 7000 overthrew 80000. French. *Simon* Earle of *Monford* besieged in the Castle of *Mirebeau* in *France* by the King of *Arragon* and others and hauing with him but 3. Knights, 60. horse-men, and 700. foot-men, hauing commended themselves to God, sallied and charged the King so valiantly, that he ouerthrew his Army, killed him and 17000. of his men, and lost not aboue eight foot-men of all his. Therefore a Prince should not presume too much of his owne strength, nor be carelesse of his enemy, nor charge him but in good order. For, fighting without order, the *Carpentines*, *Olender*, and *Vaccos* in *Spain*, hauing an Army of 100000. were ouerthrowne by *Hannibal*, for they trusted in the number of their Souldiers, and kept no order. Both the *Scipios* being slayne in *Spain*, *Lucius Martins* being a man of meane calling, yet a good Souldier and of great courage, gathered the disperſed souldiers together, and was chosen for their Generall. *Asdruball* making no account of him, set vpon him disorderly, and was ouerthrowne, by which the *Romanes* encouraged *Martins* in the night following to set vpon *Asdrubals* Campe vpon a suddayne, and killed of the *Carthaginians* 37000. and tooke prisoners 1830. And the *Carthaginians* seeing the *Romanes* wearied with the seruice vpon the Sea, were perswaded that they would fight no more by Sea, and therefore grew very carelesse, whereby they were ouerthrowne by the Consull *Catulus*. And the *Romanes* held it not so good to defend, as to inuade. For they hauing first Warre with the *Carthaginians* in *Cicily*, thought it better to fight agaynst them in their owne Country, then in *Cicily*. Therefore sent the Consul with forces into *Affrick*, which forced the *Carthaginians* after 14. yeares war to seeke for Peace, and to leaue to the *Romans* all *Cicily*, and the Ilands



betwixt it and *Italy*, and to giue them 2200. Talents of siluer, and all their prisoners without ransome. In the second War *Panicke* the *Romanes* hauing lost many battels, spent their men, and consumed their Treasure, *Scipio* being chosen Confull, desired notwithstanding to go with an Army into *Affricke*, holding that the best course to end the Warre in *Italy*. But *Fabius* misliked thereof, as did also the most of the Senate, wishing him to go agaynst *Hannibal*, and to driue him out of *Italy*, and so to quiet his owne Country, before hee invaded an other, alleadging also that they were not able to maintayne two so great Armies, as one in *Affricke*; and another in *Italy* against *Hannibal*, who if he should besiege *Rome*, *Scipio* could not so easily be called from *Affricke*, as *Fabius* was from *Capua*, to succour *Rome*. They alleadged also the Death of his Father and Voele in *Spain*, after their many great Victories, and the ouer-throw of *Athens*, by sending a yong man to invade *Cicily*: The vncertainty of the fauour of *Syphax* and *Adamsissa*, and the certainty of all those Countries to be their enemies. To which *Scipio* answered, that he was Confull; not to continue Warre, but to make an end to it; and that with greater courage a man doth assault his enemy, then to defend his owne, and that *Agathocles* King of *Syracuse* seeing *Cicily* troubled with Warre, turned it into *Affricke* from whence it came; and that a Captaine ought to follow his good fortune and occasion; and that strangers should well know wee haue courage as well to invade *Affricke*, as to defend *Italy*; and that there is a *Roman* Capayne dare vndertake as much as *Hannibal*, and will force him to returne to defend *Carthage*. In the end, after long arguing of the matter, it was granted that *Scipio* should passe into *Affricke*: which hee did, and forced *Hannibal* (after hee had continued Warre in *Italy* sixteene yeares) to returne home, then ouer-threw him, and made *Carthage* glad to accept of any conditions of peace. Which was, that *Carthage* should liue in liberty, and  
vse



vse their Lawes, and possesse the Townes and Countreyes they had before the Warres; and that they should yeeld all Rebels, Fugitiues, and Prisoners, and all their Gallies sailing ten, and all their Elephants tamed, and should tame no more; that they should not make Warre, neyther with *Affricke* nor without, but by permission of the *Romans*; and that they should deliuer 100. Of *ages*, the yongest not vnder 14. yeares of age, nor the eldest above sixty yeares, with diuers other conditions. The Oracle of *Apollo* answered those of *Cyrrus*, that if they would haue peace at home, they should make continuall Warres abroad. But a good peace is alwayes to be embraced by a Prince, and also to be offered to his enemy. For as the Frenchman saith; *L'arrou de la fortune, n'est pas toujours une*. The wheele of Fortune is not alwayes one. In the first War *Punike* *Appius Claudius* offered the *Carthaginians* peace, in respect of the alliance betwixt the *Romans* and them, which they refused; but after, they fearing the *Romans*, sent to the Consull *Attilius* for peace, who denyed them thereof, because they had refused it before of *Claudius*: which did so long and grievous  
*Cannas*; *Hanniball* sent for more ayde: *Hannan* a graue Counsellor, would haue had them to haue made peace with the *Romans*, whose counsell they refused, which brought ruine vpon themselves. Yet *Scipio* (after hee had overthrowne *Syphax* and *Asdruball*) being sent to by *Carthage* for a peace, denyed them not, but sayd, though he had the Victory almost in his hands, yet would hee not refuse to treat of peace: that all Nations may vnderstand that the *Romans* do both begin, and finish their Warre most iustly, and thereupon set them downe conditions of peace, which they seemed to like, in retaining the time only till *Hannibals* comming home, who was sent for: and vpon his arriual, he himselfe moued *Scipio* to peace, who told *Hannibal*, that *Carthage* had but dissembled with him, till his returne, and broken the truce. Therefore he demanded  
amends,



*Principles for Young Princes.*

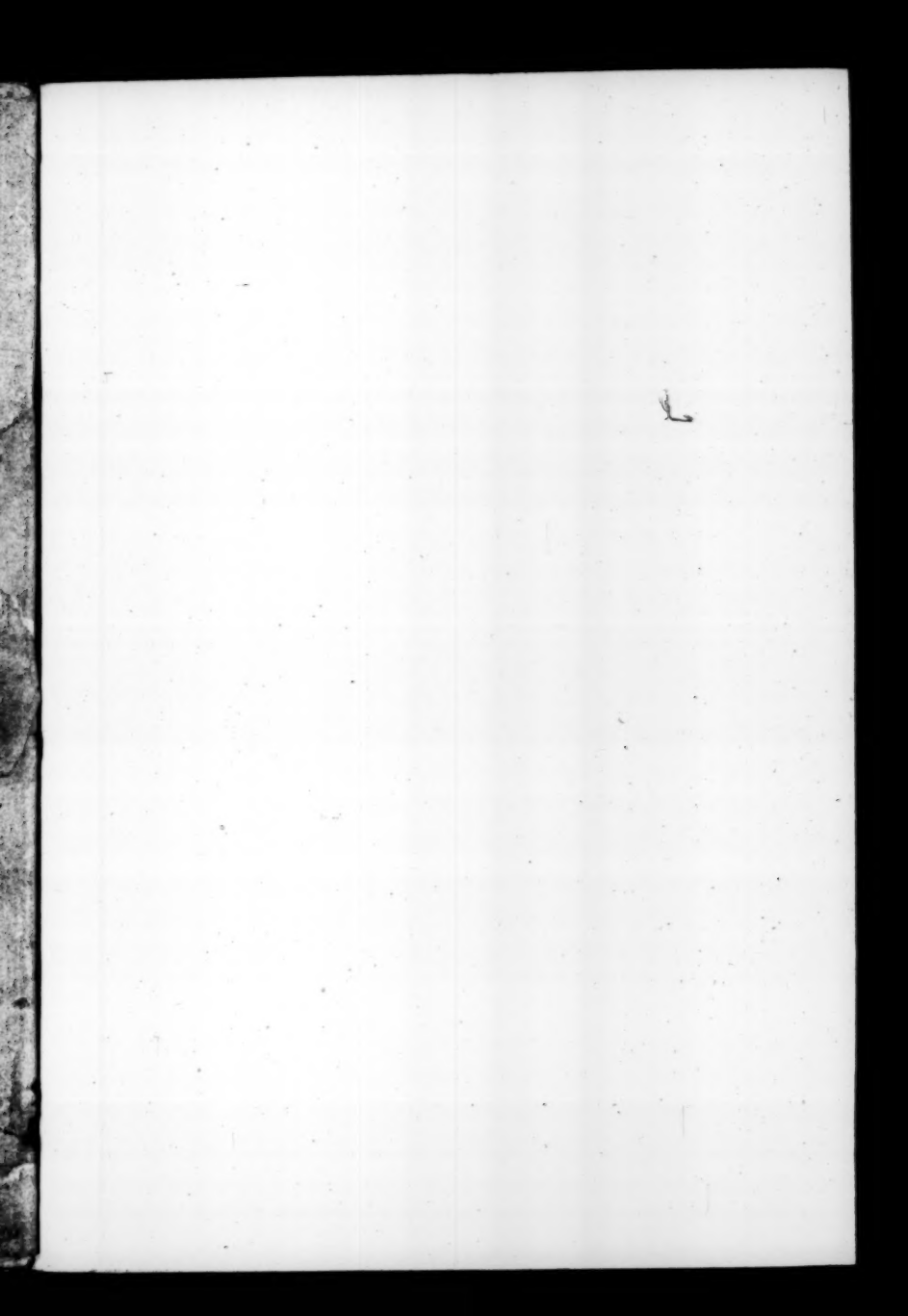
amends, besides the conditions first offered, which if he thought too hard, then to prepare himselfe to Battell. The next day *Scipio* over-threw *Hannibal*, killed 20000. and tooke as many prisoners. Then *Hannibal* confessed himselfe to be vanquished, and told *Carthage*, they had no way but accept of any conditions of Peace. *Antiochus* seeking to the *Romans* for peace, had conditions offered, which he refused, and was over-thrown, then glad to accept of any conditions.

The Common-wealth of *Tyrus* sent to *Alexander Magus*, offering him what obedience and subjection he would require of them, so neyther hee nor his men would accept of it. *Alexander* refused it, disdainning that one City should shut their Gates agaynst him, to whom the whole world was subject. Hee lay before the siege, hee would haue taken it, but after foure months then would not, being growne old and proud. Whereupon *Alexander* with a furie tooke the Towne, spoiled it, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, or to bee slaues. But *King of Persia* refusing the submission of the *Tyrus*, made them over-threw the King.

*Flanders* likewise refusing to submit, was by them over-thrown. *Edmund* submitted themselves to *Edward*, King of *England*. By this it doth appeare what hurt may grow by not giuing peace demanded, and not accepting of peace offered. Therefore *Appius Claudius* of *Sabine*, because the *Sabines* would not yeeld to Peace, did forsake his Country, and went to *Rome*, where he was made a Citizen of *Rome*.

FINIS.







kept ynder as slaues, and feare the Prince, which course extinguisheeth the loue of the people towards the Prince, and ingendreth hatred. Therefore *Pythagoras* counsell is better. And a Prince to enrich his subiects, the only way is to keepe them in peace, without quarrels, and dissentions, and too grieuous exactions. Therefore *Philip Commynes* blameth greatly such Princes as doe not seeke to compound and end dissentions and quarrels amongst their greatest subiects, but rather doe nourish the one part, wherein they doe but set their owne house on fire, as did the Wife to *Henry* the six, taking part with the Duke of *Somerset*, against the Earle of *Warwicke*, which caused the Warre betwixt the House of *Torke* and *Lancaster*. Likewise *Charles* the seauenth King of *France* being Dolphin, taking part with the Duke of *Orleans*, against the Duke of *Burgundy*, was the cause that the Duke of *Burgundy* brought *Henry* the fifth into *France*. And for exactions, the Emperour *Augustus* made a Law called *Augusta*, that no payment should be exacted of the people, but for the profite of the Common-wealth. And when *Marcus Antonius* layd a double tax vppon the people, they answered, That if he would haue two taxes in one yeare, hee must giue them two Summers, two Haruests, and two Vintages. For the people cannot endure to bee overcharged: if they bee, great inconuenience may grow thereby. For *Phillip Le Bell* King of *France*, being receiued in *Flanders* as Lord thereof, charged the people with excessive taxes, and suffered the French to commit all insulency and iniuries against the people, fauouring the Nobility, and exempting them from all taxes, impositions, and charges, whereupon they of *Bruges* begunne to reuolte, and killed all the French in the Towne. After this the *Flemings* over-threw the forces of King *Phillip*, and freed themselves from the French.

Ther-



Therefore if the Princes Councell, or Nobility, doe yeelde to haue any thing imposed vpon the people, it is fitting they should not be exempt, but beginne and lay it first vpon themselues as the *Romans* did, for the people murmuring against the Consuls for imposing a great charge vpon them, Consull *Leuinus* sayd: As the chiefe Magistrate is in honour about the Senate, and the Senate about the people, so ought he to be a guide, and the first to submit himselfe to endure all kinde of paine and trouble: For if thou wilt impose a charge vpon thy inferiour, first beginne and lay it vpon thy selfe, and therest will more easily follow: therefore let vs beginne with our selues, sayd hee, and so they did. The great impositions the Prince of *Wales* layd vpon the Countrey of *Guienne*, was a great cause of the losse thereof. The Duke of *Orleans* Gouernour of *France* for *Charles* the sixt, was extremely hated of the *Parisians* for a great imposition he layd vpon them, for reformation whereof, the Duke of *Burgundy* leuyed great forces, and in the end caused the Duke of *Orleans* to be killed.

The Duke of *Anjou* regent of *France*, laying a great imposition vpon the people, a Collector thereupon demanding a Denier of a poore VVoman for a basket of Herbes, which shee refusing to pay, hee forced to take her Herbes, but she crying, was rescued by the people, and an uproare did arise, which did great hurt before it could be appeased. The Earle of *Flaners* likewise, laying a great imposition vpon the people, made them rebel against him. And *Lewes* the twelfth King of *France*, making Warre against *Lodowicke Sforce* Duke of *Milan*, who knowing himselfe to be very odious to his subjects, for his great exactions and impositions, and fearing that they would abandon him, assembled the people at *Milane* and to giue their good wills, remitted diuers taxes which he had imposed vpon them, and gaue them



many reasons and excuses for his former proceedings; But such hatred they had conceived against him, as all would not serve, for within few dayes after, they tooke armes, called in the French, killed his Treasurer, and made him flee. When the Battell of *Cressy* was fought, the people of *France* were in extreame poverty, by reason of the euill gouernment of the publicke Treasure, of the false-hood of the Treasurers and Magistrates (who enriched themselves by the poverty of the people) and of the increase of Taxes, Subsidies and Impositions, which orewe the people into dispaire (oppressed also with Famine and Plagues) that when the King would haue leuyed an other Army, hee could not get the French to it. A Prince therefore should loue and cherish his Subjects, but not oppresse them. For *Tyberius Nero*, when some perswaded him to take great Tributes of the Provinces, sayd, that a good shepheard should sheare his sheepe, but not deuoure them. And *Lewes* the ninth King of *France*, his chiefe care in sparing was to ease the people by abating the Taxes and Subsidies layd vppon them by his Predecessors. And that State (sayth *Thales*) is best ordered which hath it, neither too wealthy, nor too poore Citizens.

## CHAP. 25.

*Who to haue the charge in Warre.*

**F**ORce and Valour most properly should belong to the Nobility, and they thereby defend the people, and bee their Leaders in Warre. Therefore for a Prince to take that charge from them, or to displace them, if they be sufficient, is not conuenient. For *Perennis* hauing the whole gouernement vnder the Emperour *Commodus*, displaced all the Noble Captaines, and put on their base persons in their roones, whereat the Army being grieued, pulled *Perennis* in peeces, as an enemy to the



the Common wealth. *Anno* envying the glory of *Mutines*, tooke his charge from him, and gaue it to his owne sonne. Whereupon *Mutines* practised with the Consull and betrayed to him the Towne of *Agrigente* in *Cicily*, whereby all *Cicily* was brought in subiection to the *Romanes*. *Lewes* the eleuenth King of *France*, displacing the Noblemen and his good seruants, and giuing the Offices to men of base quality; ciuill Warre did arise, but the King presently acknowledging his errour, restored them againe. Yet it behoueth a Prince to be respectiue, and not to giue a charge to a seuerer man. For sometimes a good Prince shall be hated for his wicked *Gouernour*, as was *Scipio*, for the cruelty of his Lieutenant *Pleninius*. And *Lucullus*, though he was wise and Valiant, and did many exploits against *Mythridates*, and *Tygranes*, two of the greatest Kings of *Asia*, yet was hee so seuerer and vncourteous, as his souldiers loued him not, neyther would obay him in the end. Whereupon the *Romanes* set *Pompey* in his place, who by his courtesie and clemency wonne the hearts of his souldiers, and thereby brought all the East parts vnder the obedience of the *Romanes*, and so reaped the fruites of *Lucullus* labours, and had the honour thereof with Tryumph. *Appius Claudius* vsed in like manner great rigour and seuerity amongst his souldiers, insomuch as they would doe nothing for him, though he put some of the Captaines to death, but reioyced to be over-throwne, to dishonour him. And at another time the *Romane* souldiers, for despite they had against the Ten-men, suffered themselves to be vanquished. And *Marcus Popilius* Consull subduing the *Lyguriens* (now *Genouois*) rebelling against the *Romanes*, rayed their Towne walls, tooke their armour from them, and sold them, and their goods: which the Senate thought to be a too seuerer and cruell part of *Popilius*, and an euill example for others to stand vpon extremitie, rather then to yeeld, or to trust to the clemency of the *Romanes*.

FINIS.



*manes*. Therefore commaunded all that were sold to bee redeemed, their goods to be restored, they suffered to haue armour, and *Popilius* to bee called home, and his gouernement giuen to another. Therefore a Prince for his Warres had neede to appoynt not onely a wise, but a temperate and Valiant Commander. For (*Plato* sayth) that a man temperate not endued with fortitude, falleth easily into cowardlinesse, and basenesse of minde; and that a strong and Valiant man without temperance, is easily carried away with temerity and boldnesse. So was *Claminius* ouer-throwne and killed by *Hanniball* at *Trafazene*, for not staying to ioyne his forces with the other Consull. And *Minutius* in the absence of *Fabius*, hauing charge and commaund ouer the Army, vpon his rash attempt against *Hanniball*, had good successe. Whereupon he would needes haue th: Army diuided betwixt them, and haue equall charge: to which *Fabius* condescended: *Hanniball* perceiuing his rashnesse and insolence, gaue him battell and ouer-threw him; but *Fabius* being at hand, gaue him succours, whereupon *Minutius* confessed his errour. And then *Hanniball* said, that the Cloud which had wont to hang vpon the mountaynes, sturred with Wind and Tempest, was turned to Raine; for *Fabius* kept the heights and would not fight but with good aduantage; therefore *Hanniball* feared his wisdome.

And when *Fabius* had gotten the Towne of *Tarent* by Treason, *Hanniball* sayd, I perceiue the *Romanes* haue also their *Hanniball*. But at *Trene*, *Hanniball* defeated the *Romanes*, who came to battell fasting, which was a great over-sight in the Consull. But *Hanniball* commaunded all his men to eate some meate before. *Marcellus*, through the default of his owne souldiers, was ouerthrowne by *Hanniball*; but his wisdome was such, as first rebuking his souldiers therefore, and then encouraging of them, he gaue battell the next day to *Hannibal*



nibal, and defeated him. But the Consull *Minutius* was of a weaker spirit, temperate without fortitude, for hee being sent agaynst the *Eques*, durst not come neere them, but fortified himselfe in his Campe, which they seeing, besieged him in his Tents. Whereupon *Lucius Quintius* was created Dictator, who relieved him, and subdued the *Eques*, but would giue no part of the spoyle, neyther to *Minutius*, nor to his souldiers, but rebuked them. So that Wisedome, Temperance, and Valour, are necessary in a Generall.

Dissention likewise in an Army is to be auoyded, for by the dissention betwixt the Consuls, *Hanniball* overthrew them at the battell of *Canus*. Therefore *Glaucius Neron*, and *M. Lucius* being enemies, and chosen Consuls, made themselues friends, for the good of the Common-wealth. So *Aristides* and *Themistocles*, sent Embassadors by *Athens*, did reconcile themselues during that employment. *Crates* and *Hermias* not friends, and being in their City of *Magnetia* besieged by *Mystridates*, *Crates* offered *Hermias* the charge of Captayne Generall, and to depart the City himselfe: or if *Hermias* had rather depart, then to leaue that Office to him, least by their both being in Towne, ielousie might grow betwixt them, and breed hurt to their Country. *Hermias* seeing the honest offer of his Companion, and knowing him to be the more sufficient, yeelded to him the charge, and left the Towne.

And as dissention is hurtfull, so enuy is not fitting. For the French-men ayding *John King of Castile*, agaynst *Denis King of Portugall*, had vpon their earnest request, the poynt of the battell, which did offend the Spaniards, who were desirous thereof, insomuch that the French-men giuing the charge, the Spaniard would not second them, but suffered them all to be slayne or taken, and then they set vpon the *Portugals*, who hauing vanquished the French, and seeing the *Castilians* come killed all their prisoners, and then overthrew them also:



Pope Bonifacio the ninth, and the French King, sent great forces agaynst the Turke *Bajazet* : Their Generall was the Earle of *Nevers*, who agaynst the will of the King of *Hungary*, and of all the Campe gaue the first charge, and without order, and was over-throwne, whereupon the Army of the Christians fled. *Anno* 1396. by reason whereof the Turk tooke al *Greece*, and the greatest part of *Bulgaria*, and then besieged *Constantinople*.

And it is also very requisite that the Generall should keep his souldiers from idlenesse, for *Segnitie robur frangit, longa otia nervos*. Sloath weakeneth the sinewes, and diminisheth a mans force, and is the nurse of all vice, making a man most base. Therefore *Alexa* a King of *Syria* sayd, that hee thought himselfe no better then his Horse-keeper, when hee was idle. A vice to which Gentlemen alwayes haue bene too much giuen. In somuch that in *Athens* (where they did not suffer the people to be idle : a Citizen being iudicially condemned for idlenesse, one *Herondas* requested one to shew him the party that was condemned for a Gentle-mans life. In *Carthage*, to auoyde this vice, the Noble-men did alwayes exercise Armes ; the common people laboured ; and the Learned men were euer teaching and instructing others. And in the Common-wealth of the *Lacedemonians* none were idle, for all men laboured ; and they sending one *Ciblon* to *Corinthe*, to treat of a League, hee found the Magistrates idly exercised, playing at Dice : whereupon hee returned home, and would not speake of his Commission, saying : That hee would not stayne the glory of *Sparta* with so great an ignominy, as to ioyne them in society with such kinde of people. *Marius* caused his souldiers to make Trenches when there was no cause, onely to keepe them from idlenesse. *Claudius* hauing an assured peace, for the auoyding of idlenesse, kept thirty thousand men, twelue yeares in working the Channell *Fucinus*, that *Rome* might haue good water. And when the Lawes were well kept in *Rome*, at the time they



they had Warres with the *Celtiberians* in *Spain*, and with *Alexander*; the Senators went three dayes about *Rome* with the Censors, and could not find one idle man for a messenger to carry their letters. But in *Marcus Aurelius* time there were plenty, for he confesseth that hee banished, punished, and put to death in his time 30000. idle Vagabonds, and 10000. idle women. And *France* being troubled with a great number of idle vagabond souldiers: *Bertyand de Guesclin*, (to free the Countrey of them) drew them all to goe with him into *Spain* agaynst the *Sarazins*. *Bruce* King of *Scotland* exhorted his subiects to exercise Armes alwayes, for that idlenesse would corrupt them, and for want of practise they would not be able to resist their enemies. A Prince therefore being the Lanterne to his subiects, should giue good example herein. *Alfred* King of *England* had that care to eschew idlenesse, and to spend his time well, as he diuided the day into three parts, by a Taper that burned continually in his Chappel 24. houres: The first part he spent in Prayer and in study: The second part hee employed in the affaires of the Common-wealth; and the third part he tooke for his recreation and rest. A good president for other Princes.

CHAP. 26.

A Prince to be well aduised before hee begin Warre, and carefull in his fight.

IT is not for a Prince vpon euery quarrell to make War, but to be sure that the cause bee good and iust, which then wil bring honor to his Person, safety to his soule, and great encouragement to all his souldiers. Yet (according to the saying of *Octavianus Caesar*) neyther battell, nor War is to be vndertaken, vnlesse there may be euidently seene more hope of gayne, then feare of damage: for such as sought after the smallest commodities not with a little danger, he likened vnto those that Angle with a golden hooke, for the losse whereof, if it hapned to be snapped or broken off, no draught of Fish whatsoever was able to



make amends. And it is necessary that a Prince, or his Generall, should consult and take counsell before hee fight, for the aduice of his Captaynes heerein may doe great good. Therefore the *Carthaginians* commaunded those Captaynes to be hanged, that got Victory without any consultation before. And those that did first consult; and then were over-throwne, they did neuer punish. And hauing taken counsell and resolution, execution is to follow without delay, least occasion be lost. For *Aristotle* sayth, that a wise man ought to counsell slowly, and execute speedily; and if Victory be gotten, to follow it hotly is the best, before the enemy (being discouraged) be able to make head agayne. For if *Hannibal* had done so after the battell of *Cannas*, and not lingered to refresh his men, he had taken *Rome*. Likewise *Pompey* in a skirmish, put *Cesar* to the worke, which if he had pursued, he had quite over-throwne *Cesar*. Yet a man must take heed he follow not the Victory too fiercely, nor out of order. For so *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, by following the *Romans* too fiercely was defeated. So likewise *Gaston de Foix*, hauing wonne the battell at *Ravenna*, pursuing too fiercely a Squadron of Spaniards that fled, by them was over-throwne, lost his life, and made all that a prey to the enemy, which before hee had Conquered in *Italy*. And an enemy is not to be contemned, though his Forces be inferiour, for oftentimes it is not the multitude of men that getteth the Victory, but the courageous and resolute mindes of the souldiers, assisted by God. For King *Alexander* with 33000. foote-men, and 25000. horse-men, over-threw the *Persians*: and *Darius* army of 400000. foot-men, and 100000. horse-men. *Robert le Frison*, with a few, and without experience, defeated *Philip* King of *France*s great Army and old Souldiers. The Earle of *Namure* with the *Flemings* being but a few, over-thre the Earle of *Artois*, sent by *Philip* the fayre King of *France*, with 4000. French men into *Flanders*, whereof 300. escaped not. At the battell of



*Poitiers* the Prince of *Wales* with 8000. English, overthrew 40000. French, tooke King *John* and his Sonne prisoners, and also a number of Princes and Noble-men. *Henry* the fifth at the battell of *Agincourt* with 7000. overthrew 80000. French. *Simon* Earle of *Monford* besieged in the Castle of *Mirebeau* in *France* by the King of *Arragon* and others and hauing with him but 2. Knights, 60. horie-men, and 700. foot-men, hauing commended themselves to God, sallied and charged the King so valiantly, that he ouerthrew his Army, killed him and 17000. of his men, and lost not aboute eight foot-men of all his. Therefore a Prince should not presume too much of his owne strength, nor be carelesse of his enemy, nor charge him but in good order. For, fighting without order, the *Carpetines*, *Olcaides*, and *Vaces* in *Spain*, hauing an Army of 100000. were ouerthrowne by *Hannibal*, for they trusted in the number of their Souldiers, and kept no order. Both the *Scipios* being slayne in *Spain*, *Lucius Martius* being a man of meane calling, yet a good souldier and of great courage, gathered the dispersed souldiers together, and was chosen for their Generall. *Asdruball* making no account of him, set vppon him suddenly, and was ouerthrowne, by which the *Romans* encouraged *Martius* in the night following to set vpon *Asdrubals* Campe, vppon a suddayne, and killed of the *Carthaginians* 37000. and tooke prisoners 1830. And the *Carthaginians* seeing the *Romans* wearied with the triuce vppon the Sea, were perswaded that they could fight no more by Sea, and therefore grew very carelesse, whereby they were ouerthrowne by the consull *Casulus*. And the *Romans* held it not so good to defend, as to inuade. For they hauing first Warre with the *Carthaginians* in *Cicily*, thought it better to fight agaynst them in their owne Country, then in *Cicily*. Therefore sent the Consul with forces into *Affrick*, which forced the *Carthaginians* after 14. yeares war to seeke for peace, and to leaue to the *Romans* al *Cicily*, and the Islands



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betwixt it and *Italy*, and to give them 2200. Talents of silver, and all their prisoners without ranfome. In the second War *Punicke* the *Romanes* hauing lost many battels, spent their men; and consumed their Treasure, *Scipio* being chosen Consull, desired notwithstanding to go with an Army into *Affricke*; holding that the best course to end the Warre in *Italy*. But *Fabius* misliked thereof, as did also the most of the Senate, wishing him to go against *Hanniball*, and to driue him out of *Italy*, and so to quiet his owne Country, before hee invaded an other, alledging also that they were not able to maintayne two so great Armies, as one in *Affricke*; and another in *Italy* against *Hanniball*; who if he should besiege *Rome*, *Scipio* could not so easily be called from *Affricke*; as *Fabius* was from *Capua*, to succour *Rome*. They alledged also the Death of his Father and Vncle in *Spaine*, after their many great Victories, and the overthrow of *Atbens*, by sending a young man to invade *Cicily*: The vncertainty of the fauour of *Sypha* and *Adushnissa*, and the certainty of all those Countries to be their enemies. To which *Scipio* answered; that he was Consull, not to continue Warre, but to make an end of Warre: and that with greater courage a man doth assault his enemy, then defend his owne; and that *Agathocles* King of *Syracusa* seeing *Cicily* troubled with Warre, turned it into *Affricke* from whence it came; and that a Captaine ought to follow his good fortune and occasion; and that strangers should well know wee haue courage as well to invade *Affricke*, as to defend *Italy*; and that there is a *Roman* Captaine dare vndertake as much as *Hanniball*, and will force him to returne to defend *Carthage*. In the end, after long arguing of the matter, it was granted that *Scipio* should passe into *Affricke*: which hee did, and forced *Hanniball* (after hee had continued Warre in *Italy* fixteene yeares) to returne home, then over-threw him, and made *Carthage* glad to accept of any conditions of peace. Which was, that *Carthage* should liue in liberty, and



use their Lawes, and possesse the Townes and Countreyes they had before the Warres; and that they should yeeld all Rebels, Fugitiues, and Prisoners, and all their Gallies saving ten, and all their Elephants tamed, and should tame no more; that they should not make Warre, neyther with *Affricke* nor without, but by permission of the *Romans*; and that they should deliuer 100. Ostages, the yongest not vnder 14. yeares of age, nor the eldest aboue sixty yeares, with diuers other conditions. The Oracle of *Apollo* answered those of *Cyrus*, that if they would haue peace at home, they should make continuall Warres abroad. But a good peace is alwayes to be embraced by a Prince, and also to be offered to his enemy. For as the Frenchman saith, *La roue de la fortune, n'est pas toujours vne*. The wheele of Fortune is not alwayes one. In the first War Punike *Appianus Claudius* offered the *Carthaginians* peace, in respect of the alliance betwixt the *Romans* and them, which they refused; but after, they fearing the *Romans*, sent to the Consull *Attilius* for peace, who denyed them thereof, because they had refused it before of *Claudius*: which made them desperate, and caused so long and grievous Warre. And after the Battell of *Cannas*, *Hannibal* sending to *Carthage* for more ayde: *Hannon* a graue Counsellour, would haue had them to haue made peace with the *Romans*; whose counsell they refused, which brought ruine vpon themselves. Yet *Scipio* (after hee had overthrowne *Syphax* and *Asdruball*) being sent to by *Carthage* for a peace, denyed them not, but sayd, though he had the Victory almost in his hands, yet would hee not refuse to treat of peace: that all Nations may vnderstand that the *Romans* do both begin, and finish their Warre most iustly, and thereupon set them downe conditions of peace, which they seemed to like, in retaining the time only till *Hannibal* coming home, who was sent for: and vpon his arrivall, he himselfe moued *Scipio* to peace, who told *Hannibal*, that *Carthage* had but dissembled with him, till his returne, and broken the truce. Therefore he demanded amends,



amends, besides the conditions first offered, which if he thought too hard, then to prepare himselfe to Battell. The next day *Scipio* over-threw *Hanniball*, killed 20000. and tooke as many prisoners. Then *Hanniball* confessed himselfe to be vanquished, and told *Carrbages*, they had no way but accept of any conditions of Peace. *Antiochus* seeking to the *Romans* for peace, had conditions offered, which he refused; and was over-throwne, then glad to accept of any conditions.

The Common-wealth of *Tyrus* sent to *Alexander Magnus*, offering him what obedience and subjection hee would require of them; so neither hee nor his men would enter their City: *Alexander* refused it, disdaining that one City should shut their Gates agaynst him, to whom the whole world was open; but after foure months siege, hee would have accepted of that offer, and they then would not; being growne bold and proud. Whereupon *Alexander* with a furious assault took the Towne, spoyle it, and put all the Inhabitants to the sword, or to be slaves. But King *Clovis* of *France* refusing the submission of the *Turingsians*, who had rebelled agaynst him, made them desperate, and by desperate fight they over-threw the King, who hardly escaped. The Earle of *Flanders* likewise refusing the submission of his Subjects, was by them over-throwne, and in the end they submitted themselves to *Edward* the third, King of *England*. By this it doth appeare what hurt may grow by not giving peace demanded, and not accepting of peace offered. Therefore *Appius Claudius* of *Sabine*, because the *Sabines* would not yeeld to Peace, did forsake his Countrey, and went to *Rome*, where he was made a Cittizen of *Rome*.

FINIS.



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